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History

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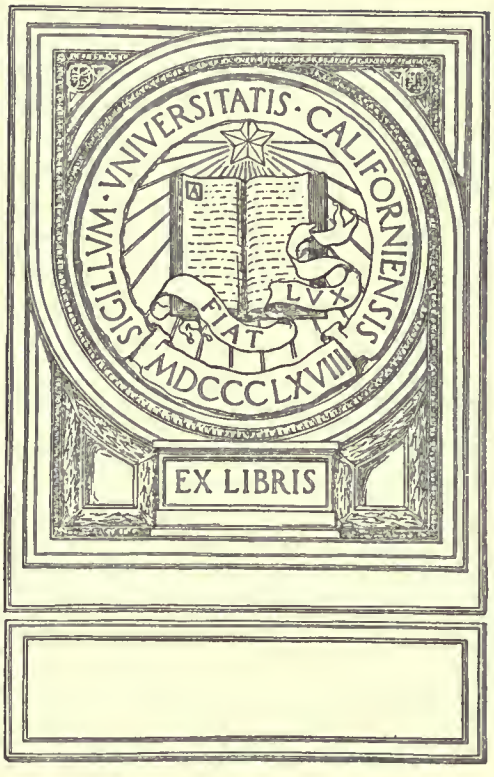
Canadian Militia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The Honourable Sir F. W. Borden, K.C.M.G., M.D., M.P.

Minister of Militia since July 13th, 1896.

The Canadian Militia

A HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCE

by

Captain Ernest J. Chambers

(Corps of Guides)

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L. M. FRESCO. - MONTREAL
Publisher

THE MORTIMER PRESS, OTTAWA-MONTREAL

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PREFACE

THE remarkable progress made by Canada during the past eight or ten years in the development of her natural resources, in the extension of her domestic industries and in the expansion of her internal and foreign commerce, has been accompanied by a development of wholesome national military spirit and by an expansion of the defensive force of the Dominion just as noteworthy and unquestionably just as essential to the continued prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of the Dominion as a people.

¶The sound, sober military spirit which permeates the loyal and patriotic population of Canada is unquestionably one of the most valuable assets of this great country. History proves beyond all cavil that the continued possession of a sterling military spirit is absolutely essential to the preservation of the liberty, the material prosperity, the higher standards of moral and religious life, and the true happiness of nations. Ancient empires like Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Phoenicia and Lydia, only succumbed when the virile military spirit which had established their prosperity and glory was extinguished. When the Lydians, during a momentary revival of national military spirit, endeavored to throw off the Persian yoke, Cyrus (559-531 B.C.) decided that the subjugation of the proud race should be crushing and final. He did not lay the rebellious country waste nor put its people to the sword. The Lydians were fabulously rich, so much so that the name of their king Croesus to this day stands as a synonym for vast wealth. Cyrus, who combined the wisdom of a philosopher with the skill and courage of a mighty conqueror, decided that the national wealth of the Lydians coupled with the obliteration of the military spirit prevailing among them should be made to work the nation's death. They were deprived of their arms and all trophies and monuments recalling past military glories. They were forbidden to practice military evolutions or anything resembling them, and were actually compelled to live in the idle enjoyment of the wealth they possessed, in order that the race might become demoralized and effeminate. This policy soon accomplished its purpose.

¶Thanks to the oft-recurring outbreaks of unfriendliness among sections of the people of the neighbouring but not always neighbourly republic, and to the deep-rooted determination of the Canadian people, begotten of their royalist stock, to preserve inviolate at all costs the territory of Canada as the home of British parliamentary institutions and the ark of true freedom in North America, there has always been more or less military spirit in this country, and the existence of the Canadian Militia, even during the periods of most pronounced neglect, has done not a little to foster and nourish it.

¶The South African War stimulated the military spirit in Canada as it had not been for years; and in demonstrating the mighty scope which existed for co-operation between the Mother Country and her daughter nations in defence of the Empire, at once raised the Canadian Militia from the level of a mere auxiliary of the regular army, liable to be called upon to furnish men, and perhaps a few selected officers, in cases of local emergency, to the status of a powerful and necessary unit of the Imperial defensive force.

¶The Canadian people and the Canadian Militia have manfully assumed the increased responsibility, and the intervening few years have seen an incompletely organized, a poorly supported, and an oft-neglected militia transformed into an effective army with a carefully selected and trained staff, with modern armaments and equipment, and with its own arsenals, magazines and departments.

¶And Canada, possessing, as her oft-tried loyalty well warrants, the absolute confidence of the Mother Country, has dutifully and proudly assumed the full responsibility of keeping the flag of the Empire flying in the northern half of this continent. The last soldier on the pay rolls of His Majesty's regular army has left Canadian soil.

¶A new epoch in the history of the Canadian forces has been reached, and the time seems opportune for taking a glance backward and for reviewing the various stages of the development of the Canadian Militia. It might now, more correctly, be styled the Canadian Army.

¶For many years the writer has had in contemplation the production of a volume or series of volumes giving, in comprehensive detail, a record of the origin, development and services of the Canadian Militia, and he hopes yet to carry out that idea. When he was first approached by the publishers of this book and invited to undertake the writing of it, he hesitated somewhat, as the time and space placed at his disposal were limited; but realizing that the volume proposed could hardly fail to be of immediate practical use to his comrades of the militia and others interested, for a book of the kind has been long needed, he agreed to do the work.

¶The Minister of Militia, Sir Frederick Borden, had been already interviewed by the publishers and kindly expressed his approval. He also most courteously promised the writer that any departmental information he required should be placed at his disposal.

¶On account of the lack of space at his command the author found that it was impossible in this volume to give more than a passing notice to the campaigns of the Militia, deeming it of more practical importance to trace the development of the force and to record the successive changes which have taken place in its organization and internal administration.

¶Thanks have to be accorded to Doctors De Celles and Griffin, Librarians of Parliament, and to their staff of the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, more particularly to Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Todd and Messrs. Sylvain and MacCormac; to Dr. Arthur Doughty, C.M.G., Dominion Archivist; to Colonel F. L. Lessard, Adjutant-General of Militia; to Colonel D. A. MacDonald, Quartermaster-General; to J. W. Borden, Accountant and Paymaster-General; to Major R. J. Wicksteed, author of a most interesting pamphlet on the militia (1875); to Mr. Lane, Librarian of the Militia Department; to Major Irving, of the Canadian Military Institute, Toronto, and to a large number of military and literary friends who have placed material and pictures at the author's disposition.

¶There is in the Dominion Archives a veritable mine of invaluable information with reference to the infancy of the Canadian defensive force, and it must be a subject for congratulation to all interested in the force to know that this material is being so skilfully and carefully arranged that it will be directly and usefully available to them. In the preparation of the following pages the Archives have been largely drawn upon and so have the annual reports of the Militia Department, parliamentary papers and the Hansards of the Senate and House of Commons.

ERNEST J. CHAMBERS.

325 Daly Ave., Ottawa, July 1, 1907.

CHAPTER I

THE CANADIAN MILITIA OF THE FRENCH REGIME

ALTHOUGH as it at present exists, the Canadian Militia* system bears the impress of the influences of the old militia organizations of England rather than that of those of New France, there are many points of connection entitling the present Militia of the Dominion of Canada to claim some sort of relationship to the gallant Canadian Militia of the French Regime. The Act of Capitulation of Montreal, cancelling the authority of the King of France in Canada, of course voided, or to be more accurate, for the capitulation, was subject to subsequent treaty, suspended that sovereign's commissions in the colony, including those of the officers of Militia. But the ink upon the document in question was scarcely dry before the British authorities provided for the recommissioning of such of the militia officers as would take the oath of allegiance. True, the object of the British was to obtain the services of the officers of the old Canadian Militia in their civil rather than in their military capacities. But it was the old militia organization which was temporarily revived under British authority, nevertheless. After the formal cession by treaty of Canada to Britain the French commissions were cancelled by ordinance, but the authorities appear to have availed themselves of the good offices of the militia captains, and it was they who were relied upon to raise and command the first British Canadian armed force raised in Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers in 1764 for use in the operations against the western Indians. Similarly it was the officers of the old French militia who raised and officered the most of the volunteer corps which served, not only in repelling the American invasion of 1775-76, but rendered good service with the Loyalist armies during the revolutionary campaigns in what is now the United States. And when the first colonial acts respecting the organization of a militia under the British rule were drafted the militia laws and practices of the old regime were taken into consideration and had a marked effect on the legislation in question. As to the personnel of the first Canadian militia under British rule, the muster rolls of that period could be easily mistaken for those of the splendid but poorly appreciated militia that rendered such fine service under Montcalm and de Levis, so many of the officers who had fought so valiantly to uphold the fleurs-de-lys, accepting similar appointments under the Union Jack. To all effects and purposes the first Canadian militia organized under the British regime was the same body as had served the Bourbons so well before the Capitulation of Montreal.

Few people realize what a powerful force the militia of the old French colony was. The year of the first battle of the Plains of Abraham, 1759, Montreal contained 4,000 inhabitants, and yet the militia organiza-

*The word "militia" (from the Latin *miles*, a soldier) is generally considered by encyclopedists and historians as meaning that portion of the military strength of a nation enrolled for discipline and instruction, but local in its organization, and engaged in active service only in case of emergency, the organized national reserve in fact. Clearly, from the derivation of the word, this present acknowledged meaning was not its original one, and we know from parliamentary history that old English representatives in the House of Commons, realizing the national dread of military dictatorship, objected to the application of the term "militia" to the constitutional and popular branch of the defensive forces of the country. In the generally accepted sense referred to the term is now a misnomer applied to the defensive force of Canada, for what we call the "Active Militia" is the Dominion's first line of defence, and includes a force (small it is true), of permanently embodied troops—regulars—with a complete permanent staff.

tion of the province was so perfect, that Montreal alone had a militia force of about 1,000 men on service in the field. This enrollment of such a large proportion of the population was accomplished by the aid of the Feudal law of Fiefs.

Under the French Militia Ordinances, based upon this law, every man in the colony, the clergy and noblesse excepted, was required to enroll himself in the militia. The military administrative organization in each district, outside of Quebec, where the colonial administration was located, consisted of a Governor, a Lieutenant du Roi and a Town Major, all under salary. In every parish there was a Captain of Militia, responsible for the drill and good order of his men, while the seigneurs were generally commissioned as colonels. The Governors, in cases of emergency, decided what quotas were required from each seigniory and town and forwarded a requisition therefor to the Town Majors and Seigneurs. These officials in turn decided upon the strength of the quotas of the various parishes, and requisitioned the Captains of Militia therefor, the Captains raising the men by a draft, and marching them under escort into the nearest town where the Town Major furnished each militiaman with arms and clothing.

Many duties of a civil nature in connection with the administration of the law, the regulation of statute labour, and the making and maintenance of roads, bridges and other public utilities were imposed upon the Captains of Militia, these useful officials being compensated for their services in time of peace by grants of powder and ball. At least from the year 1754 until the Capitulation of Montreal every parish was a garrison, commanded by a Captain of Militia, whose authority was not only acknowledged but rigidly enforced. From the date first mentioned until the appearance of Saunders' fleet in the St. Lawrence, the militia of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers was frequently exercised, the Quebec militia including a carefully trained artillery company which performed good service during the siege.

The clothing supplied the militiaman can scarcely be described as a uniform. At the embodiment of the levies the Town Mayor furnished each militiaman with a gun, a capote, a Canadian cloak, a breech clout, a cotton shirt, a cap, a pair of leggings, a pair of Indian shoes and a blanket. The old Canadian militiaman during the French regime must certainly have looked more serviceable than soldierly, particularly to the critical eyes of those used to the prim, tight-laced soldiers of those days. But he showed in the field and forest that he could do the work required of him.

After receiving their equipments, the militiamen were marched to the garrison for which they were destined. The French authorities do not appear to have made any serious attempt, apart from the case of the Quebec artillery company, to make trained line soldiers or artillerymen out of the militia. They preferred to rely upon the smart professional soldiers of the Carignan, Languedoc, Bearne, Guienne La Sarre, Berry and Royal Roussillon regiments and the Troupes de la "Marine" for the line of battle, leaving to the militia the just as dangerous, and considering the country, just as important, functions of partisans and bushrangers. As the country was not suitable for cavalry, the commanders depended largely upon the militia for the important duties of the scouting and intelligence service. Consequently, while clothing the peasant soldiery in a fashion as much unlike the military uniform of the day as anything well could be, the French officers made no attempt to instill into the ranks of the militia any idea of drill and discipline beyond such as was necessary to secure a fair show of order while on the march. The employment as scouts and skirmishers was congenial to the warlike race, and they readily came forward whenever the war drum sounded.

Sometimes the old French Canadian militia dressed exactly like their Indian allies. Some of the Canadian prisoners captured in affairs of outposts during Wolfe's siege of Quebec were naked, with their bodies daubed with red and blue paint, and with bunches of painted feathers in their hair. According to Parkman, they were said to use the scalping knife as freely as the Indians, in which respect they resembled the New England Rangers.

The old French militia was, according to Warburton, generally reviewed once or twice a year for the inspection of their arms; that of Quebec was frequently exercised, and the artillery company attached thereto was very efficient.

During the Anglo-Indian French war, says Rogers in his "Rise of Canada," in 1754 to be exact, when the English American colonists had determined upon the four expeditions against Crown Point, Niagara and the French fortresses in Nova Scotia and on the Ohio, the Marquis du Quesne, then Governor of Canada, organized the militia of Quebec and Montreal; minutely inspected and disciplined the militia of the seigniories, and atetahed considerable bodies of regular artillery to every garrison. When the Marquis de Vaudreuil de Cavagnac arrived in 1775 to succeed du Quesne, he found all Canada in arms.

The French governors undoubtedly appreciated

the value of the force, and when the last decisive struggle was impending, at the close of the year 1758, the Marquis de Vaudreuil issued a proclamation to the officers of the Canadian militia to excite their zeal and quicken their activity in preparations for resistance. "Notwithstanding our glorious successes," said he, "the state of the colony is perilous. No time must be lost in organizing our defence." He then directed that all the male inhabitants of the province, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should be enrolled in the militia, and should remain in readiness to march at a moment's notice. The Captains of militia faithfully endeavoured to comply with these orders, but the habitants showed some disinclination to leave their farms. In many cases the levies, under the law of universal conscription, were carried out to the letter, sections of the country remained waste, and eventually the country was involved in a state of absolute famine.

On the occasion of this last appeal of the French governor there was really a magnificent response, for, at the time of the conquest, according to British official returns, the effective militiamen of the colony numbered 20,433 men, divided among the military districts as follows:—Quebec, 64 companies or 7,976 men; Three Rivers, 19 companies, 1,115 men; Montreal, 87 companies, 7,331 men.

The "Troupes de la Marine," which formed the permanent military establishment of Canada, might be described as forming a part temporarily of the French Colonial militia. Francis Parkman, in his pre-eminently interesting and accurate volumes "Montcalm and Wolfe," speaking of this force says:—"Though attached to the naval department they served on land, and were employed as a police within the limits of the colony, or as garrisons of the outlying forts, where their officers busied themselves more with fur trading than with their military duties. Thus they had become ill-disciplined and inefficient, till the hard hand of du Quesne restored them to order. They originally consisted of twenty-eight independent companies, increased in 1750 to thirty companies, at first of fifty, and afterwards of sixty-five men each, forming a total of 1,950 rank and file. In March 1757, ten more companies were added. They wore white uniforms of similar pattern to the line regiments, but with black facings."

The colonies, in fact, were administered by the French Department of Marine, which maintained an army of its own, distinct from the Royal Army, for colonial service. The officers of this service while on duty in Canada signed themselves "Captain" or "Lieutenant," as the case may be, "of a company of the troops detached from the Marine, in Canada."

And, now, as to the origin of the French Militia in Canada. Practically all of the first settlers, except the priests, were soldiers, and equipped to do duty as such.

Courage and self-sacrifice were required on behalf of all concerned to maintain the little colony. Pestilence and famine, the prowling savage, and the treacherous courtier, combined to endanger the very existence of the settlements; but the brave colonists, undaunted, worked out the salvation of themselves and of New France. The annals of this heroic period of Canadian history have a peculiar fascination for the reader.

The population of the colony did not extend very rapidly during its earliest years, but the geographical bounds of its commercial activity increased tremendously. Although the population of New France, as compared with that of the English, Dutch and Spanish colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, was insignificant, the hardy pioneers of the colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence pursued their explorations completely around, and well beyond the spheres of influence of all rival colonies. New France had the great advantage which Canada has to-day, of the greatest inland waterway in the world, and so it came that the Mississippi, the western prairies, and the distant Rocky Mountains were discovered and first explored by parties from this colony.

With the extension of the colony a purely commercial element sprang up and developed, with other matters to engage their attention than defence. The importance of that question could not be overlooked by the authorities, and we find as early as 1627 the first legal enactment imposing military responsibility on the population at large. On the date mentioned an order was issued that all the male inhabitants of Port Royal (now Annapolis, N.S.) were required to assist the soldiers in garrison duty if needed. In 1648 mention is made of the organization of some of the inhabitants in Acadia and along the St. Lawrence into companies.

In 1649 the first call upon the inhabitants for actual militia service appears to have been made. The whole male population of the colony did not exceed 1,000 men, yet fifty men were called out and placed under arms to assist in repelling one of the ever-recurring Iroquois attacks. That same year 100 volunteers were called out as a "camp volant" to patrol the country between Montreal and Three Rivers, and this service appears to have been maintained continuously until 1651. In 1653 was organized a sort of volunteer corps of 63 men, known as the "Fraternité de la Très Sainte Vierge." In 1664 the whole male population of Montreal able to bear arms was enrolled as volunteers as a precaution on account of threatened Indian troubles.

And similar precautions were doubtless taken in the other settlements.

A strong military element was about this time bodily incorporated in the population of Canada. When the Marquis de Tracy arrived to take over the duties of Viceroy in 1664, he brought with him as settlers the then newly disbanded regiment of Carignan-Sallières, which had returned to France after fighting the Turks in Hungary. These men, who had aided in setting bounds to Mahomedan encroachment, were admirably adapted for settlement in a country in which constant fighting was going on with the Iroquois and the English colonists, and when the regiment returned to France in 1669 many of its officers and men remained in Canada, and their descendants are here to this day.

Much of the glory of the first campaigns against the Iroquois belonged to the Canadian levies.

April 3rd, 1669, the King of France wrote M. De Courcelles, Governor of New France, to organize all the male inhabitants of Canada into companies in order to teach them the use of arms. (Canadian Archives.)

Between 1674 and 1676 Frontenac, the iron governor of New France, thoroughly reorganized the militia, giving that body the form it retained up to 1759-60, the able-bodied men of each parish or eôté, forming a company of militia, "milices," to be brigaded in time of war only.

May 16, 1677, an Ediet was issued creating the office of "Prévôt" in Canada, and providing for six "officiers d'archers," to execute its ordinances and decrees.

Although the internal organization was progressing, the colonial officials felt the need of regular troops.

In 1679, M. de Frontenac, the Governor-General, on account of trouble with the Iroquois and English, wrote to the French government demanding re-inforcements of troops.

In 1682, M. De La Barre, the then governor, again appealed to the King for military aid to protect the colony against the Iroquois. The same year M. de Meules, intendant, writing on the state of the colony to the minister, complained that there were no guard houses for the troops in Montreal and Three Rivers. The following year de La Barre wrote another letter to the King renewing his request for troops to make war upon the Iroquois, and petitioned His Majesty to award a commission in the navy to a son of M. de Saurel, recently deceased. In those early days the ambition of young Canadians to serve in the regular armed forces of the Crown was very marked, and many of them served in the French army and navy with distinction. November 12, 1707, M. de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, wrote the minister thanking him for having appointed his son to a commission in the Marine Guards. November 1st, 1711, de Ramezay wrote to Governor Vaudreuil requesting a commission for his second son, his first having been killed the year before in an expedition to Brazil.

April 10, 1684, the King wrote M. de La Barre that 200 soldiers had been sent from France to assist the colony. The Governor had, meantime, made preliminary arrangements for a punitive expedition against the Iroquois, causing a number of friendly Indians to assemble at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), and reviewing them April 17th. June 5th, the reinforcements from over the ocean not having arrived, the Governor wrote to the minister praying that the reinforcements asked for be sent or that he may be permitted to resign and return to France. Meantime de La Barre proceeded with his preparations for the expedition, and assembled a force of Canadians and Indians at Fort Frontenac and reviewed them there August 14, 1684.

From this time forward drafts of the Canadian militia were on almost constant service, and, according to the reports of the commanding officers, acquitted themselves with distinction.

In 1684, a company of Canadian militia from Cap Rouge, commanded by Captain Denis Joseph Juchereau de La Ferte, served in de La Barre's expedition against the Iroquois, and this same militia officer serving with d'Iberville in the Hudson Bay in 1689, at the head of a party of Canadian militia, captured near Fort Nelson, the English governor of New Severn.

During this period there was almost constant trouble with the Iroquois, and the governors and other officials were firmly convinced that the Indians were instigated by the English colonists. The Chevalier de Callières, Governor of the Island of Montreal, was so firmly convinced of this that he submitted a scheme to the minister for the capture of New York, volunteering to carry the scheme into execution himself chiefly with militia. The proposition was favourably entertained at Court, and instructions as to its execution issued to Count de Frontenac, who had returned to Quebec as Governor-General.

In his reports to the minister on the successful repulse at Quebec of the British Colonial fleet under Admiral Phipps in 1690, de Frontenac gave great credit to the Canadians, and suggested that as a reply to Phipps' expedition Boston be captured.

The drafting of so many of the inhabitants for militia service caused considerable trouble in the colony, shortages of crops often resulting. To obviate

this danger constant demands were made for regular troops.

In 1691, de Frontenac wrote the King asking for fresh regular troops, and September 15th, 1692, a memorial was despatched to the minister by de Frontenac, and M. de Champigny, the Intendant, setting forward the urgent need for a thousand soldiers. Similar requests were made in 1693, and in October of the last-named year, some reinforcements were received.

In a letter dated November 10, 1695, to the minister, de Champigny and de Frontenac spoke of having despatched 700 men to Fort Frontenac, and highly praised the Canadians operating with the Royal troops. The following year the old governor left Montreal on his chief punitive expedition at the head of 2,200 men, a large proportion of them militia.

The war party sent to the Boston country under command of d'Eschaillons and de Rouville in 1708 was composed principally of Canadians.

October 18, 1708, M. Randot, Intendant, wrote to the Minister with reference to salaries for Councillors, Militia Captains, etc., the duties of the latter having extended so considerably as to call for regular official recognition. September 20, 1714, M. de Vaudreuil, governor general, reported to the minister upon the reorganization of the troops and militia.

In 1714, Governor de Vaudreuil forwarded a memorandum to the Council of Marine on the danger to Canada in the event of war with England, in view of the small number of inhabitants able to bear arms. The same year he forwarded another memorandum on the same subject to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of the kingdom. He contrasted the small number of the inhabitants of Canada fit to bear arms with the large proportion of English colonists. He asked that regulars be sent out, and steps taken to settle and fortify the colony in every way.

It was fully realized by the officials of the colony that each succeeding year placed New France at an increased military disadvantage compared with the New England colonies, and every precaution was taken to make the most of what military resources the colony possessed.

Governor de Vaudreuil, May 22, 1725, wrote the minister of Marine recommending that soldiers marrying in Canada and settling here be allowed to retain their muskets. This suggestion was apparently adopted, and in September 28, 1726, M. De Beauharnois, de Vaudreuil's successor, recommended that muskets be also given to old soldiers who had previously married and settled in the colony. In a letter dated Quebec, October 17, 1830, Hocquart, the Intendant, wrote acknowledging the receipt of permission to distribute muskets to discharged soldiers remaining in the colony. October 20th, 1727, M. Dupuy, Intendant, wrote to the Minister of Marine that an increased public expenditure had been caused by the assembling of militia to be sent to Chouéguen.

In Quebec, the corps of militia artillery maintained to assist the regular troops in the manipulation of the big guns in that fortress, attained considerable distinction for its efficiency, and an official statement dated Quebec, October 1, 1728, contains the names of the burgesses and citizens of Quebec who presented themselves in order to learn the gun drill during the years 1725, 1726 and 1727.

About this time the French Government impressed with the comparatively rapid development of the military resources of the English colonies, and probably anxious to avoid the constant demands of the Canadian governors for regular troops, drew the attention of the officials in the colonies to the desirability of husbanding the local resources. How well the situation was appreciated in France is shown by a document among the Dominion Archives. On the 24th of May, 1728, De Maurepas, Minister of Marine, writing to M. Dupuis, then Intendant of Canada, wrote:—"The policy of the people of New England being to labour at the thorough cultivation of their farms and to push on their settlements little by little, when it comes to a question of removing to a distance they will not consent to do so, because the expense would fall upon themselves. . . . . The settlers of New France are of a different mind. They always want to push on, without troubling themselves about the settlement of the interior, because they earn more and are more independent when they are further away. The result of this difference in the mode of proceeding is, that their colonies are more densely peopled and better established than ours."

The exigencies of military service, however, made it necessary to use the Canadian settlers on far distant fields on militia service. When Celeron de Bienville, June 15th, 1749, left Lachine on his celebrated expedition to the Valley of the Ohio, he had no less than 180 Canadian Militia with him, the rest of his force, exclusive of Indians, being 14 officers and cadets and 20 soldiers. This was about the ordinary proportion of regulars and militia of the numerous hard-fighting war parties of those years, for after the departure of the Carignan regiment the regular garrisons did not exceed in the aggregate 300 men, and they were commanded by a Captain of Infantry. Six or seven extra companies were sent to the colony, however, at different times between 1684 and 1713-7.

The militia system in New France appears to have

been in many respects in advance of that of the Mother Country. "Les Milices Provinciales" of Old France were auxiliary troops recruited upon emergency. They comprised in principle all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and forty, but exclusive of the two first orders, the clergy and the nobility. The lists, very arbitrary in practice, were drawn up by the intendants. The King fixed by an ordinance the number of men to be called out, and this number was, in council, divided among the provinces. In each province the intendant determined what contingent was to be furnished by each community, and those enrolled determined by lot who were to go with the draft. The militia on being drawn were given three francs, uniform and underclothing, the King charging himself with the arms and equipment. The men so drawn and equipped were eligible for service for ten years, but they were not called out except in case of war. During peace the regimental staffs (cadres) only were maintained. This institution had its origin in the militia of the Communes, and was first put into effect by Louis XIV between 1688 and 1697, when a temporary militia force of 25,000 men was maintained in France. It became permanent in 1726 under the administration of the Duke of Bourbon; but the first drawing in Paris did not take place until March, 1743. The militia of France in 1749 formed 40 regiments of two battalions each, 13 of one, and 29 separate battalions.

The political government of Canada before the conquest was very simple, if arbitrary, all power practically residing in the Governor and Intendant, the Council having little real power. Office, rank and authority were divided among the gentry with due degrees of subordination, the gentry being drawn into still closer attachment to the governments of their posts by commissions in the Provincial (Les Troupes de la Marine) and Royal troops. As a matter of fact the seigneurs owed their titles and estates to past military services, and their capacity for rendering valuable aid in the defence of the colony. This is clearly shown by the instruments creating the various seignories.

CHAPTER II

THE CHANGE OF FLAGS

Military Rule in Canada.—The First British Canadian Militia.

LOUISBURG, C.B., capitulated to General Amherst July 26th, 1758 ; Fort Niagara was captured by the British force under Brigadier General Prideaux and Sir Wm. Johnson, July 25, 1759 ; the first Battle of the Plains of Abraham was fought September 13, the last named year, and Quebec capitulated September 18.

The change of flags in Canada dates from the capitulation of Montreal, September 8, 1760, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil and General de Levis, submitting to the inexorable logic of a vastly superior force, surrendered the French armies and the whole of New France to General Amherst.

When quitting Canada, de Vaudreuil paid this homage to the Canadian people in a letter to the French ministry:—"With these beautiful and vast countries France loses 70,000 inhabitants of a rare quality; a race of people unequalled for their docility, bravery and loyalty."

That this tribute was richly deserved one has but to study the history of the Old Regime to realize.

The militiamen of Montreal must have felt keen pangs of regret when the Union Jack replaced the Fleurs de Lys on the little citadel near the site of the present Place Viger Station, the morning after the signing of the capitulation. But they had been for years growing disgusted at the rapacity and rascality of many of the French colonial officials and at the slights put upon them by some of the regular officers.

The ordinary people, too, had suffered considerably in many cases from the overbearing conduct of the seigneurs, and consoled themselves in the hour of the triumph of their hereditary enemies by the hope that it might deliver them from a species of petty tyranny which they knew did not exist in the English colonies. There was a feeling, too, in the colony that New France had been to a considerable extent left to its fate by the Mother Country. And above all, to the war-scarred veterans of the militia the proud consciousness of having, during many years of most exacting service, done their whole duty, robbed defeat of its bitterest sting. Though the fortunes of war had been against them and Britain had won their country, they had gained, at least, as much honour out of the prolonged contest as their conquerors' many armies of conceited and quarrelsome colonials, and of contract-raised, and poorly handled "regular" regiments that had often suffered defeat at the hands of the Canadian militia, and the white-coated colonial troops and regulars of France before this day of final defeat. To the rich harvest of imperishable glory reaped by the devoted supporters of the cause of the Bourbons during this, to them, disastrous campaign, the gallantry, the amazing hardihood and the pathetic devotion of the Canadian militia fairly contributed the lion's share. There was no disgrace for such men as these in the final defeat of the cause for which they had so heroically and, for long, so successfully, fought.

When General Murray, in the spring of 1760 ascended the St. Lawrence from Quebec, with his army, to participate in the operations against Montreal, he received the submission of the various parishes on his way,

the rural militiamen considering the country lost, depositing their arms. No less than 1,400 men of the seigniory of Boucherville alone took the oath of neutrality. Murray issued a proclamation that all Canadians found in corps serving with the French would be transported to France with the regular troops.

A detachment of the British army entered Montreal to take formal possession the day after the signing of the capitulation, and at Place D'Armes the regular regiments of the garrison were drawn up and surrendered their arms. The British force at once mounted guards and posted sentries, and that night, for the first time, English drums beat the sunset tattoo in the streets of Montreal. The French regulars and officials were without any unnecessary delay shipped home to France. The English colonial troops with Amherst's armies were also returned to their homes.

September 19th General Amherst instructed Colonel Haldimand to assemble the militia of Montreal who had served under the French regime, at once, and order them to give up their arms. That done, provided they would take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, the arms would either be returned to them or placed in an armory as might be determined. From subsequent proceedings it appeared that the British army authorities, who thus found themselves responsible for the government of the newly acquired colony, were anxious to acquaint themselves with the personnel and spirit of the militia for the purpose of enlisting their assistance in the civil administration of the country. The administration of justice and of public and communal affairs generally, including such public works as roads, bridges, etc. had under the old regime been in the hands of the militia officers, and as these matters had to be attended to by somebody, it was thought that, to some extent, the old officials might safely be entrusted with these duties, if they evinced any willingness to act. On this point the British army officers appear to have been perfectly satisfied, for when General Amherst established his military governments in the colony he made provision for several courts of justice composed of militia officers, who decided cases brought before them in a summary way, with an appeal to a court composed chiefly of officers of His Majesty's Army.

The military government established by Amherst divided the country into three districts—Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. Over the first was placed General James Murray, who was also to act as Commander in Chief. General Thomas Gage was the first military governor of Montreal, and Colonel Ralph Burton of Three Rivers.

The three governors seem to have been left pretty much to their own discretion in carrying out the details of their systems of administrations, but the various governments were all of a military pattern, and to some extent the services of the officers of the old French militia were called into requisition to assist in their accustomed capacities as the local administrators of the laws of the country, which, of course remained in force pending the final disposition of Canada by treaty.

In the government of Montreal the militia officers found themselves re-instated in practically all their former functions, if in fact their authority was not increased; but in Quebec, whether on account of that district being the seat of the chief administration, or that the population was not so well disposed towards the new rulers, the militia appears to have been only called upon to assist in the regulation of the statuory, labour, the repairs of roads and bridges, etc.

Murray constituted a military council for his district (Quebec) composed of seven army officers, as judges of the more important civil and criminal pleas. This council held bi-weekly sederunts. Murray reserved to himself the jurisdiction, without power of appeal, over other cases; or left them to the care of military subalterns in the country parts. Two prominent French Canadians were appointed public procurators and legal commissaries before the military tribunal of Quebec City: one being Jacques Belcourt de Lafontaine, ex-member of the sovereign council, for the country on the right bank of the St. Lawrence; the other, Joseph Etienne Cugnet, seigneur of St. Etienne, for that on the left side of the river.

At Three Rivers, almost the same arrangement was made.

General Gage, in his district, (Montreal) authorized the parochial militia captains to settle any differences amongst the people according to their own discretion, but dissatisfied clients had a power of appeal to the nearest British commandant or to himself.

An ordinance dated at Montreal, October 13, 1761, set forth that "His Excellency Thos. Gage, Governor of Montreal and its dependencies, &c., &c., taking into account the administration of justice of his government, and being desirous of rendering it more prompt and less expensive to those obliged to resort thereto, had seen fit to prepare the present ordinance and release for the courts of justice of the government of Montreal."

The government was divided for the administration of justice into 5 districts. In each one there was to assemble a court (Un corps d'Officiers de Milice) on the first and fifteenth of each month. These courts of militia officers, were to be composed of not more than seven, or less than five members, of which one should

hold the rank of captain, the senior to act as president. The officers of militia of each district were summoned to meet in their parishes on the 24th October, to make arrangements for the whole of these courts, and to prepare rosters of officers for duty therein. The town of Montreal was set apart as a judicial district of its own with a local Board of Officers o administrate the laws. From these courts appeal was to be allowed to three Boards of Officers of His Majesty's Troops, one to meet at Montreal the other at Verennes, and the third at St. Sulpice, these Courts of Appeal to sit on the 20th of each month. From these courts a further appeal to the Governor in person was provided for.

In the event of capital crimes, officers of militia were authorized to arrest the criminals and their accomplices, and to conduct them under guard to Montreal, the militia officers to furnish with each prisoner an account of the crime and a list of witnesses. In civil cases involving small amounts, not exceeding 20 livres, all the officers of the militia were individually granted authority to adjudicate with an appeal to, and no further, than the militia courts of the district. Provision was made for the payment of the militia officers, for all of these duties by a scale of fees, a treasurer to be appointed for each court. The officers of militia were specially enjoined to maintain peace and order within their respective districts.

October 17, 1761, the "Conseil des Capitaines de Milice de Montreal" presented a memorial to the Governor, in which they expressed their willingness to administer justice gratuitously, as they had done in the past, but requested, as a favor from His Excellency, that they be exempted from the obligation to billet troops in their domiciles. They requested that six cords of wood be purchased to heat the chamber in which their sittings were held, and that Mr. Panet, their clerk, be compensated for his services at the rate of 30 "sols" for each sentence. Two militia sergeants had been appointed to act as bailiffs and criers of the court and a tariff of fees was asked for to provide for their pay. These sergeants, it was also explained, were not only made use of in the administration of justice, but also for the district, for the supervision of the statutory labour or "corvee." This memorial, which was signed R. Decouagne, was approved by the Governor.

The placing of the administration of the law to such an extent in the hands of the officers of the old French militia was clearly an honest attempt to place the administration of the French laws, the temporary continuance of which had been promised to the Canadian people at the capitulation of Montreal, in the hands of those considered to be the best versed in them. The commissions in the militia were generally held by the seigneurs and the other notabilities of their respective districts, and these persons were not merely the best educated but, often the most highly esteemed men in the country, and they had shown themselves to be good soldiers. The victorious officers, with that strong professional regard which engenders a species of deep-seated comradeship even between members of hostile armies, naturally felt inclined to rely upon the honour of brother soldiers, though late enemies, rather than upon that of civilians.

And it is gratifying to relate that this reliance upon the honor of the officers of the Canadian militia at this trying period of the national history was not misplaced, although from this period doubtless dates back the intimacy between the old noblesse and the British officials which resulted in the former class exerting a preponderating, and not always just and enlightened, influence upon the early years of British civil government in Canada.

It is satisfactory to note that on retiring from the governorship of Montreal, Gage forwarded a letter to "Messieurs, les Capitaines de la Chambre de Milice de Montreal," dated Montreal, October 1763, in which he wrote "I cannot help expressing the satisfaction that I have always derived from your conduct, during the time I have had the honour to be your chief; and it becomes my duty before leaving your country to testify as to my lively recognition of the services which you have rendered to your king and country. Continue to do your duty in advancing the public welfare, and not only increase the good reputation you have already acquired among your fellow countrymen, but earn what you will certainly not fail to receive, the gratitude and protection of the king."

The Treaty of Versailles ceding Canada to Britain was signed in February, 1763, but not proclaimed in Canada until the following May. October 7, the same year, a Royal Proclamation was issued providing for the government of the new colony somewhat along the lines of the prevailing system, but only so far as it did not conflict with the laws of Great Britain.

Three very different opinions were entertained as to the effect of the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763. There were those who argued that the proclamation repealed all the existing laws and established English laws in their places; others were of the opinion that the Canadian laws remained unrepealed. They argued that according to the spirit of English law, upon the conquest of a civilized country, the laws remain in force till the conquerors shall have expressly ordained to the contrary. Others again thought that the effect of the proclamation and the resultant Acts was to introduce the criminal laws of England and to confirm the Civil Law of Canada.

Brigadier General Burton, removed from Three Rivers to replace General Gage as Governor at Montreal, upon assuming his new government, issued a proclamation announcing that all the orders for the regulation, good order and police service in the government would be maintained exactly as they had been instituted under the administration of Major General Gage. Special mention was made of the fact that "civil justice would be administered by the militia and military courts," with the appeal as heretofore to the Governor.

When British civil government was proclaimed in Canada, notice was given of the cancellation of the existing French laws. For the time being, however, failing the proclamation of new laws, many of the old French ones were continued in force in accordance with the maxim already referred to.

So, many of the features of the military administration continued for some time subsequently to the proclamation of civil government. New laws to meet all the existing local conditions could hardly be expected to be produced at once. The old population of the colony, but more particularly the seigneurs and gentry, who were in closest touch with the British colonial officials, rather favored a continuation of the military rule. Being a brave and military people, immured to war and military discipline, they had taken kindly to military rule as administered in Canada by the British, but the gradually growing British civilian population did not like it, and one of the objects of the proclamation of 1763 was to encourage a larger British immigration into the province.

The proclamation may be said, broadly, to have established in Canada the English criminal law, but to have recognized the "ancient customs" and civil laws of New France. For the interpretation of these the administration continued to avail themselves of the services of some of the tribunals composed of militia officers. At this time there was considerable uncertainty as to the limitations of the two systems of judicature, and there was much overlapping of systems and many disputes as to procedure, etc. Friction arose, and more or less local ill-feelling was gradually consolidated into a wave of national discontent. The authorities found themselves too much occupied otherwise to find time to draft a new militia law.

Not only were the militia officers and non-commissioned officers used for mere court duties at this time, as some have assumed. The captains of militia were looked to as responsible for the statute labour, bridges, roads, etc., as in the days of the old regime. This is clearly proved by many existing placards of the time, one, for instance, issued by Governor Burton, May 9, 1764, drawing attention to the necessity for the improvement of the roads and maintenance and construction of bridges, etc. The principal clause of the proclamation read as follows:—

"We expressly inform all the captains and officers of the militia within the boundaries of this government to take steps immediately on the posting of the present placard, to see that the roads and bridges are repaired and that the ditches are cleared out. Each officer of militia in his district or parish will attend to this in the customary manner, under penalty of arbitrary measures being taken against the captains or other officers of the parish militia who neglect to have the roads and bridges in their district placed in a satisfactory order by the time the inspection will be made, one month after the issue of the present proclamation."

To strengthen the hands of the militia officers a certain number of arms were issued them for free public distribution, on loan, during good behaviour, in order that the recipients might hunt and "keep their hands in," in case of emergency. It was doubtless felt that this would help to maintain the authority of the militia officers who had been friendly enough to the new authorities to take the Oath of Allegiance. In one case the recipients of these arms refused, insolently, to perform public service in connection with the military transport service, and an order from the new governor of Three Rivers, Colonel Fred. Haldimand, was issued to the militia captain concerned to call in the arms.

The governors were not slow to avail themselves of the advice of the militia officers. March 26th, 1764, the captains of the Montreal militia drew the governor's attention to an interference which had been made with customary practice, in a formal document.

Burton promptly accepted the explanation, and ordered the obstacle complained of removed.

And now Britain was about to call upon her new subjects in Canada for actual military service. The mighty uprising of the western Indians, known as Pontiac's conspiracy, had broken out, and armaments were preparing to suppress the uprising and relieve the few English posts that still held out.

The British authorities recalled the splendid service the Canadians had rendered the French armies as bush fighters and voyageurs, and determined to avail themselves of the service of a Canadian detachment.

March 5, General James Murray, Governor of Quebec and Commander-in-Chief, wrote to Lord Halifax that he had made a requisition for 300 Canadians to serve in the approaching campaign. He was strongly of opinion that the whole number should and could be raised by voluntarily enlistment, and hoped to be able to prevent his neighbors, the Lieut.-Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers, from putting the draft

into force. He had prepared proclamations setting forth the terms of service, and he wished that all the men should be raised according to them. One of these proclamations as issued by Governor Haldimand at Three Rivers, and addressed to "All the Captains of Militia," read as follows:—

"Sir:—

"Although I have already verbally informed you of the desire with which His Majesty is possessed of ensuring the happiness of his subjects, and of the firm resolution which he has taken to bring back to reason some of the Indian Nations, whose evil spirit has revealed itself through treason and violence, and to compel them to ensure the return of a paying trade and peace so necessary to his peoples, I have deemed it advisable to inform you that for this purpose the Government has resolved upon adding five companies of Canadians to the troops to be engaged in this service. These companies will comprise 60 men each. Two will be raised in the Government of Quebec, two in that of Montreal and one in that of Three Rivers and will be under the command of Canadian officers. Only those who, of their own free will, are determined to become subject of His Majesty will be enrolled in these companies. In recognition of, and as a reward for the good will of those who enroll themselves, there will be given twelve dollars in money to each volunteer, there will be distributed to them one coat, two pairs of Indian mocassins and a pair of mitts; they will be furnished with arms, munitions and supplies during the whole time of the campaign. The pay for each man will be six English pence per day, and they will be accompanied by a priest to discharge the duties of his ministry. The service of these volunteers will end with the campaign, and after that each of them will be at liberty to return home. Such a step indicates in the Government confidence in the subjects of His Majesty. We are in the right in expecting that they will not only enroll readily, but will show great faithfulness to fulfill their engagements wherever they may be placed by circumstances and for the good of the service. They should act as much through honour and duty as through gratitude and through zeal in their own interest. Pending the time when you may be at liberty to publish this ordinance at the church door next Sunday, you will do all you can to render it public, more especially among the young men, so that they may be informed of all the conditions which are offered them."

"Made and delivered at Three Rivers, under the seal of our arms, on the 12th of March, 1764.

(Signed) "Fred. Haldimand."

April 18, 1764, Haldimand wrote that he had raised the sixty men required as the quota from his government for the Canadian corps. He met with a difficulty in regard to volunteering, as the Canadians, accustomed to be ordered out or drafted, feared that by volunteering and accepting the bounty, they would be enlisted for life. They were at last convinced, and all the men required, volunteered.

In a letter from General Murray to Lord Halifax, April 24, 1764, the Governor reported with apparent gratification that the Canadian Corps had been raised and equipped in fourteen days, and left Montreal for Oswego on the sixth of that month.

This pioneer militia corps of the British regime in Canada was placed under the command of one of the most capable officers of the old French service, Jean Baptiste Marie des Bergeres de Rigauville, who was temporarily commissioned as Major. This gentleman was born at Berthier-en-bas, October 28, 1726, and for distinguished service in the Militia was rewarded with a commission in the Troupes de la Marine. As one of the senior officers of that hard fighting body of men, he participated with marked distinction in the battle of Ste. Foye, often spoken of as the second battle of the Plains of Abraham, in the spring of 1760. He was especially thanked for his services in connection with the suppression of the Pontiac uprising, and was called to the Legislative Council in 1775. The same year he formed part of the heroic garrison of St. Johns, being wounded and taken prisoner of war. While in prison at Bristol, Penn., he succumbed to his wounds and exposure, October 30, 1776, and was buried at Philadelphia.

The other officers of this corps were all men who had distinguished themselves in the militia of the French regime, such men as Antoine Juchereau Duchesnay, Saint Ange de Bellerive, Godefroy Baby and many others whose names are familiar to the readers of Canadian history. The service they performed in connection with the expedition against Pontiac and his Indians was of the most useful and gallant kind, gaining the unstinted praise of the commanding officers, and winning the confidence and esteem of their British comrades.

CHAPTER III

SIR GUY CARLETON'S MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS

THE year 1766 saw a change in the administration of the old province of Quebec, General Murray, the first Governor General, retiring in June and being replaced by General Sir Guy Carleton, another of Wolfe's officers, in September the same year. The name of Carleton (later Lord Dorchester) is intimately bound up with the history of the Canadian militia.

When the new governor arrived he found affairs in a decidedly critical state. The uncertainty as to the exact application of the Royal Proclamation of 1764 and the subsequent ordinances had caused much confusion in the administration of justice, and bitter disputes between the English and French speaking people. Local agitations and ill-feeling were prevalent; trouble between Great Britain and her older American colonies was rapidly developing into revolution, and while the agitators in New England were anxious to induce the French Canadians to participate in their movement, emissaries of the French government were also attempting to turn the Canadian people from their newly sealed allegiance to Britain.

At this juncture the fair and honourable treatment of the Canadian people by the British during the first few months of the new regime was repaid and with interest, although a few months later it looked for a time as though the generosity of the British had been forgotten. It is interesting at this point to recall that immediately after the conquest the distress to which the French Canadian inhabitants had been reduced was such as to render relief necessary, and in 1761 the sum of 600 pounds sterling was raised by subscription among the merchants and others, and each soldier in the regular army gave one day's provisions monthly to relieve the immediate distress. Supplies were also sent out from England for free distribution. Much of the distress had arisen from the non-payment of the obligations incurred by the French Government, settled for in paper money, of which large amounts were outstanding at the cession, and which remained unpaid for several years. The British authorities not only made efforts to obtain payment for the new subjects from the Court of France, but also took steps to warn the Canadians from disposing of their paper money at a sacrifice to jobbers and speculators.

The honourable attitude of the first military authorities towards the Canadians is well illustrated in a letter written to General Amherst by General Gage from Montreal, in 1762, in which the writer explained: "I feel the highest satisfaction that I am able to inform you that during my command in this government I have made it my constant care and attention that the Canadians should be treated agreeable to His Majesty's kind and humane intentions. No invasion on their properties or insult to their persons has gone unpunished. All reproaches on their subjection by the fate of arms, revilings on their customs or country, and all reflections on their religion have been discountenanced and forbid. No distinction has been made between the Briton and Canadian, but they *have been* equally regarded as subjects of the same Prince. The soldiers live peaceably with the inhabitants, and they reciprocally acquire an affection for each other. I have, notwithstanding, made known His Majesty's pleasure on these particulars to the several commanders of corps, that every individual may be acquainted therewith, which will, no doubt, add the greatest

weight to the orders and directions which have been already given. And you may be assured that the troops, who have ever shown the most ardent desire to advance the interests of their Sovereign, and paid the most exact obedience to his commands, will vie with each other in brotherly love and affection to the Canadians over whom His Majesty has extended his royal favor and protection."—(Report on Canadian Archives for 1790, p. xi.)

The correspondence of all the governors at this time, no less than their actions, indicated the honest desire to deal justly by the French Canadians. And so much was this appreciated that some Canadians of good family who had gone to France after the cession returned to Canada, preferring to submit to the British rule as administered in Canada than to remain content with the unfulfilled promises of the French Government.

There is no doubt that there were those in authority in France who from the beginning looked forward to the future reconquest of Canada, and the Canadian military officers who returned to France were continued on the pay-rolls at increased rates of pay for some years, the only apparent object being to retain their services for use in future operations in Canada.

Being a thorough soldier, one of the first things that impressed Carleton after his arrival was the defenceless and dangerous condition of the colony, and before he had been many months in Canada he addressed a communication to Lord Shelburne, of the British Government, dated Quebec, 25th Nov., 1767—(Dominion Archives Series Q, vol. 5—1, p. 260), in which he clearly and in complete detail set forth the actual position. After showing the poor state of repair of the defences of Montreal and Quebec, Sir Guy proceeded to detail the force available for the colony's defence, writing as follows:—"The King's forces in this Province, supposing them complete to the allowance, and all in perfect health, rank and file, would amount to sixteen hundred and twenty-seven men, the king's old subjects (*of British or British Colonial birth*), supposing them all willing, might furnish about five hundred men able to carry arms, exclusive of his troops, that is supposing all the king's troops and old subjects collected in Quebec, with two months hard labor, they might put the works in a tolerable state of repair, and would amount to about one-third of the forces necessary for its defence.

"The new subjects could send into the field about eighteen thousand men, well able to carry arms; of which number, above one-half have already served, with as much valour, with more zeal, and more military knowledge for America than the regular troops of France, that were joined with them.

"As the common people are greatly to be influenced by their Seigneurs, I annex a return of the Noblesse of Canada, showing with tolerable exactness, their age, rank, and present place of abode, together with such natives of France, as served in the colony troops so early in life as to give them a knowledge of the country, an acquaintance and influence over the people, equal to natives of the same rank; from whence it appears that there are in France, and in the French service, about one hundred officers, all ready to be sent back, in case of a war, to a country they are intimately acquainted with, and with the assistance of some troops, to stir up a people accustomed to pay them implicit obedience. It further shows there remain in Canada not many more than seventy of those, who ever had been in the French service, not one of them in the King's service nor one who, from any motive whatever, is induced to support his Government and Dominion, gentlemen, who have lost their employments, at least, by becoming his subjects, and as they are not bound by any offices of trust or profit, we should only deceive ourselves by supposing, they would be active in the defence of a people, that has deprived them of their honours, privileges, profits and laws, and in their stead, have introduced much expense, chicannery, and confusion, with a deluge of new laws unknown and unpublished. Therefore all circumstances considered, while matters continue in their present state, the most we may hope for from the gentlemen who remain in the province, is a passive neutrality on all occasions, with a respectful submission to Government, and deference for the King's Commission in whatever hand it may be lodged; this they almost to a man have persevered in, since my arrival, notwithstanding much pains have been taken, to engage them in parties, by a few, whose duty, and whose office should have taught them better. This disposition the French minister seems to have foreseen, as appears by orders calculated to draw them from Canada into France, well knowing that such as remained, were bound by duty and honour to do nothing against their allegiance to the king, under whose Government they live, whereas those who go to France, are to all intents and purposes officers in the French service, and liable to be sent on any service.

"For these reasons, I imagine, an edict was published in 1762 declaring, that notwithstanding the low state of the king's finances, the salary of the captains of the colony troops of Canada should be raised from four hundred and fifty livres, the establishment at which their pay was fixed at first, to six hundred livres a year, to be paid quarterly, upon the footing of officers in full pay, by the treasurer of the colonies, at the quarters assigned them by his majesty in Touraine,

and that such of them, as did not repair thither, should be struck off, the king's intention being, that the said officers should remain in that province, until further orders, and not depart from thence without a written leave from the Secretary of State for the Marine Department.

"A few of these officers have been sent to the other colonies, but the greater part still remain in Touraine, and the arrears due to those who have remained any time in this country, are punctually discharged, upon their emigration from hence, and obedience to the above mentioned injunction.

"By the Secretary of State's letter, a certain quantity of wine, duty free, is admitted to enter the towns, where these Canadian officers quarter, for their use, according to their several ranks."

The summaries of the lists sent with this letter are as follows:—

"Names of the roots of noble families in Canada the titles of which are unquestionable, and whose children and descendants have remained in the province since the conquest, viz.:—

"Families whose titles of nobility are enregistered:—Baron de Longueuil, title granted in 1700; Hertel, Boucher, Louis Couillard De Beaumont, Aubert De La Chesnay, Juchereau Duchesnay, ennobled in Canada.

"Families whose ancestors received the title of esquire, in their commissions as officers:—Xavier De Lanaudiere, De Langy, De Normanville, Duverger, Denoyelle, Sabrevois De Bleury, Denys De la Ronde, De Richarville, De Montigny, came out in the regiment of Carignan, the first that arrived in Canada, about the year 1652 or 1653.

"Offieers who were all necessarily gentlemen by birth:—Daillebout, De La Corne, De Beaujeu, St.Ours De Dechallion, De Varennes, Chabert de Jonquieres, Desbergers De Rigauville, De La Valtrie, De Ganne, Picote De Belestre, officers in the colonial corps.

Chaussegros De Lery, engineer in the colonial corps; De Bonne, officer in the colonial service; De Vassal' officer in the Queen's regiment; De Salaberry, captain in the Royal Navy.

"Families whose ancestors were councillors in the superior council established in 1663, by act of the Parliament of Paris, the provisions of which are enregistered:—Damour Duchaufour, in 1663, first councillor; Villeray, Lepinay, La Durantaye, in 1670; Chartier De Lotbiniere, 1680, first councillor; Hazeur Delorme, 1700; Guillemin, 1715; De la Fontaine, 1730; Taschereau, 1732.

"Godefroi De Tonnancour held the title of esquire, by the king's commission of lieutenant-general of the district of Three Rivers."

"French Noblesse in the Province of Quebec, November, 1767:—Captains having the Order of St. Louis, 9; captain named in the Order but not invested, 1; captains who have not the Order, 4; lieuts. having the Order, 1; lieuts., 16; Ens., 20; officiers de réserve, 2; cadets, 23; have never been in the service, 44; in the upper country who have never been in the service, 6; total, 126.

"French Canadian Noblesse in France, 1767:—Grand Croix, 1; governors, lieut.-governors, majors, aide majors, captains and lieut. of ships of war having the Order of St. Louis, 26; aide major and captains not having the Order, 6; lieutenants, 12; ensigns, 19; Canadian officers in actual service whose parents have remained in Canada, 15; total, 79.

"Natives of France, who came over to Canada as cadets, served and were preferred in the colony troops, and are treated in France as Canadian officers:—Captains not having the Croix of St. Louis, 7; had the rank of captain in 1760, raised to that of lieut.-colonel in France K. of St. Louis, 1; lieutenants, 7; was captain in the colony troops at Mississippi, came to Canada in 1760, and is raised to the rank of colonel in the Spanish service at Mississippi Kt. of St. Louis, 1; having had civil employments, 5; officers of the port, 2.

(Canadian Archives, Series Q, Vol. 5-1, p. 269.)

It appears that Carleton had already advised that some steps be taken to give military employment to the French Canadian gentry, as a measure of relief, as a means of securing their interest in the new regime, and for the purpose of securing a valuable addition to the forces of the crown. The raising of a regiment officered by French Canadians had been proposed, and it had been also suggested that commissions in the army might be given. But Carleton was met with the reply that under the old laws upholding Roman Catholic disability, the French Canadians, being Roman Catholics, could not hold commissions in the army.

However, Carleton persevered in his idea, and we find in a letter to Lord Hillsborough, preserved in the Dominion Archives, (Series Q, Vol. 5-2, p. 890), which he wrote November 21st, 1768, in reply to some queries regarding some treasonable correspondence supposed to have been received in Canada, the following observations on this same subject:—

"My Lord,—Since my arrival in this province, I have not been able to make any discovery that induces me to give credit to the paper of intelligence inclosed in your Lordship's letter of the 14th of May last; nor do I think it probable the chiefs of their own free notion in time of peace, dare assemble in numbers, consult, and resolve on a revolt; or that an assembly of military men should be so ignorant, as to fancy

they could defend themselves by a few fireships only, against any future attack from Great Britain, after their experience in fifty nine.

"Notwithstanding this, and their decent and respectful obedience to the king's government hitherto, I have not the least doubt of their secret attachments to France, and think this will continue as long as they are excluded from all employments under the British government, and are certain of being reinstated, at least in their former commissions, under that of France, by which chiefly they supported themselves and families.

"When I reflect that France naturally has the affections of all the people; that, to make no mention of fees of office and the vexations of the law, we have done nothing to gain one man in the province by making it his private interest to remain the king's subject; and that the interests of many would be greatly promoted by a revolution, I own my not having discovered a treasonable correspondence. Never was proof sufficient to convince me it did not exist in some degree, but I am inclined to think, if such a message has been sent, very few were entrusted with the secret. Perhaps the Court of France, informed a year past by Mons. de Chatelet, that the king proposed raising a regiment of his new subjects, caused this piece of intelligence to be communicated, to create a jealousy of the Canadians, and prevent a measure that might fix their attachments to the British Government, and probably, of those savages who have always acted with them. However that be, on receiving this news from France last spring, most of the Gentlemen in the province applied to me, and begged to be admitted into the king's service, assuring me they would take every opportunity to testify their zeal and gratitude for so great a mark of favour and tenderness, extended, not only to them, but to their posterity.

"When I consider further, that the king's dominion here is maintained but by a few troops, necessarily dispersed, without a place of security for their magazines, for their arms or for themselves; amidst a numerous military people, (the Gentlemen, all officers of experience, poor, without hopes, that they or their descendants will be admitted into the service of their present sovereign), I can have no doubt that France, as soon as determined to begin a war will attempt to regain Canada, should it be intended only to make a diversion, while it may reasonably be undertaken with little hazard, should it fail, and where so much may be gained should it succeed. But should France begin a war in hopes the British Colonies will push matters to extremities, and she adopts the project of supporting them in their independent notions, Canada probably will then become the principal scene, where the fate of America may be determined. Affairs in this situation, Canada in the hands of France would no longer present itself as an enemy to the British colonies, but as an ally, a friend and a protector of their independency.

"Your lordship must immediately perceive the many disadvantages Great Britain would labour under in a war of this nature; and on the other hand, how greatly Canada might forever support the British interests on this continent—for it is not united in any common principle, interest or wish with the other provinces in opposition to the supreme seat of government—was the king's dominion over it only strengthened by a citadel, which a few national troops might secure, and the natives attached, by making it their interest, to remain His subjects.

"My letters to the Earl of Shelburne, Nos. 20, 23, 24, 25 and 26 contain more fully my humble opinion of the measures necessary to obtain this desirable end, convinced, that the affections of the Canadians, or a great force, is necessary to secure this province in time of war, or, at least till the marine of France is thoroughly subdued. To those letters I refer your Lordship for further particulars, and am, with great regard and esteem,

"Your Lordship's
"most obedient
"and most humble servant,
"GUY CARLETON.

"To the Earl of Hillsborough."

The reply to this communication is interesting as expressing the views held at court on the subject under discussion:—

WHITEHALL, Jan. 4, 1769.

"Sir:—I have received and laid before the king your secret despatch of the 21st of November.

"The remarks you make upon the state and temper of His Majesty's new subjects will be of great utility in the consideration of the measures now under deliberation, and do evince both the propriety and necessity of extending to that brave and faithful people a reasonable participation in those establishments which are to form the basis of the future government of the colony of Quebec, but I fear that from the spirit of the laws of this kingdom, as well as from the general prejudices of mankind, and the dispositions that appear in all parties and factions to make every measure, however well-considered and intended, the foundation of clamour and opposition, it will hardly be practicable to extend such participation to the military line, although, for my part, I clearly see and agree in opinion with you that great advanatges might be deduced

both to the colony and to the Mother Country, from an establishment of that sort, under proper regulations.
* * * * * *

"I am, &c.,

"HILLSBOROUGH."

Carleton was anxious to properly organize the sedentary militia, but found the law on this, as on other subjects, confusing.

In December, 1767, some progress had been made in preparing a summary of the laws of Canada as they existed under the French regime and previous to the establishment of civil government in Canada, and Carleton wrote to the colonial authorities in London calling attention to the confusion which existed in administering the laws since the Ordinance of 1764, and recommending the repeal of that ordinance, leaving the old Canadian laws almost entire.—(Dom. Archives Report for 1890, p. xiii).

January 20, 1768, Carleton wrote to Lord Shelburne urging various means for impressing the new subjects with attachment and zeal for the king's government, suggesting among other things that a Canadian corps be raised and that offices in the king's service be bestowed upon them.

September 4, 1774, Governor Gage of Massachusetts, from Boston, forwarded to Quebec, for Carleton, a suggestion that two regiments of Canadians be raised for service in Massachusetts in view of the unruly disposition of the people there. Carleton of course could not comply.

February 4, 1775, Carleton, at Quebec, wrote to General Gage at Boston stating that the French Canadians generally seemed pleased at the passage of the Quebec Act. The gentry were well disposed to serve in regular corps but did "not relish commanding a bare militia." The sudden dismissal of the Canadian regiment raised in 1764, at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy, without gratuity or recompense to officers, was still uppermost in their thoughts. As for the peasantry, government had retained so little power, that it would require time and discreet management to recall them to habits of obedience. To embody them suddenly as militia and march them off to war, "would give color to the language of the sons of sedition, 'that it was the intention to rule over them with the former despotism.'" He recommended raising a battalion or two of Canadians, which would find employment for and attach the gentry, giving them an influence over the lower classes and securing the Indians.

Meantime some of the newly arrived English settlers, most of them from the older American colonies, and some of the civil officials, a number of whom were French Protestants or "Swiss," and naturally not favourably regarded by the inhabitants, were acting in such an arbitrary or a greedy way as to cause disaffection among the high-spirited French population. And the refractory and democratic spirit, which from the date of the landing of the first settlers had existed and been fostered by gross misgovernment, was rapidly drifting on towards rebellion in New England and the southern colonies. The whole patchwork fabric of British Colonies in North America, with the exception of Nova Scotia and the Hudson Bay territory, appeared about ready to fall to pieces. All sorts of tardy conciliatory measures, most of them most absurdly devised, were taken by the home authorities.

In the hope of conciliating the French Canadians the British Parliament in 1774 passed "the Quebec Act" which extended the boundaries of the Province of Quebec from Labrador to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the watershed of Hudson Bay, abolished Roman Catholic disability, confirmed the tithes to the Catholic clergy, but exempted Protestants from payment, re-established the French civil code and the seignorial tenure, confirmed the English criminal code, and vested authority in a governor and an appointed council. This act, while received with gratification by the French Canadian seigneurs and clergy, greatly displeased the mass of the French-Canadian people, the English-speaking colonists in Canada, and the people of the older English colonies. This act made no reference to the militia.

The measure was founded on petitions and representations of the French noblesse; every clause of it showed that the wishes of the British colonists in Canada especially had been unjustly and contemptuously rejected. Nor did the Bill recognise the wishes of the mass of the French Canadian people.

The French noblesse, of whom many, under the Quebec Act, were received into the Council or appointed to executive offices and the Roman Catholic clergy, who were restored to the possession of their estates and their tithes, acquiesced in the new form of government, but by a large part of the British residents it was detested, as at war with English liberties, and subjecting them to arbitrary power.

The Act was unquestionably an honest attempt to satisfy the French Canadians, but the mistake was made of accepting altogether the representations of the seigneurs and clergy, more particularly those of the seigneurs. The latter class, by reason of their superior social positions, not always an indication of sound judgment, of unselfish patriotism, of familiarity with popular views or of knowledge of national requirements, were naturally thrown into closer contact with the first British colonial officials than their fellow countrymen of less pretentious social status, but who were

better able to give expression to sound popular views on public questions. The seigneurs appeared to have succeeded in keeping from the ears of the British administrators the truth as to the ill-feeling which had been produced throughout the mass of the French Canadians by the arbitrary, greedy, and often corrupt conduct of many of the old seigneurs during the French regime, for if the peasant of New France had owed compulsory military service to the king, he also had owed to the seignior crushing feudal obligation, and this obligation was but too often most cruelly exacted. Even Carleton, whose advice had been sought in framing the Quebec Act, sagacious though he was, and public spirited, failed to receive with due discrimination the representations of the self-seeking seigneurs, and in a letter written by Chief Justice Hay to the Lord Chancellor in 1775, he pointed out that Carleton had acted very injudiciously in depending so much upon the seigneurs, whose elation at the supposed restoration of their old privileges had given offence to their own people and to the English merchants.

On the 1st of June, 1775, Congress passed a resolution setting forth "That, as this Congress has nothing more in view than the defence of these colonies, no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada."

The resolution was translated into French, and distributed throughout Canada. In the light of the subsequent action of Congress, this resolution must be regarded as an attempt to cheat either the Government or people of Canada into a sense of security, the better to overrun and overwhelm them. For, on the 27th of June, Congress passed another resolution, instructing General Schuyler to proceed without delay to Ticonderoga, and, if he found it practicable, "immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue any other measure in Cnaada which might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies."

These things did not escape the notice of Governor Carleton one of the most praiseworthy military men that ever governed a British dependency; the man who preserved Canada to the Empire. Carleton, on the 9th June, 1775, proclaimed that he had put the province under martial law; at the same time he called out its militia, depending chiefly upon the seigneurs for the enrollment.

The malign influence of the Quebec Act, now that the fate of Canada was about to be placed in the balance of war, was everywhere felt in disastrous disappointment.

The peasants believed that the Quebec Act revived those powers of Crown and noble which had been their scourge and their horror in the French period. An opinion prevailed in the province, that the seigneurs, by the tenure of their lands, owed military service to the King of England. Further, that it was part of the same tenure, that they should engage for the personal service of all their vassals. It was also believed that, as the Quebec Act revived the laws and customs of Canada, the seigneurs had a legal right, whenever the king or his representative called on them, to command the personal service of all their tenants.

The seigneur of Terrebonne, M. La Corne, was deputed by General Carleton to enrol his tenants. La Corne took high ground with the peasants. He told them that, by the tenure of their lands, he had a right to command their military services. Their answer was the most pregnant commentary on the conquest: "They were now become subjects of England, and did not look on themselves as Frenchmen in any respect whatever." Then followed uproar.

M. la Corne struck some of those who spoke loudest; this maddened the people. He was forced to fly to Montreal, threatening to bring back two hundred soldiers. The people armed themselves for resistance, determined to die rather than submit to the seigneur. But the prudence of Carleton soothed them. He would not give La Corne soldiers; but sent with him an English officer, a Capt. Hamilton. In reply to Hamilton the people said: If Gen. Carleton requires our services, let him give us English officers to command us; or if not, common soldiers, rather than those people" (the seigneurs). The peasants only dispersed when Hamilton promised that La Corne should come no more among them.

A Mr. Deschambaud, son of a seigneur, went to his father's estate on the River Richelieu, to raise the tenants. He harangued them in an arbitrary strain. They replied defiantly, He then drew his sword; whereupon the people surrounded him, and beat him severely. The result of this incident might have been fraught with the very worst consequences, had it not been for the admirable tact of Carleton.

The peasants, fearing that it might go ill with them, assembled to the number of three thousand at Fort Chambly, and began to march to Fort St. John's to face two regiments of regulars there, whom they suspected the governor would use against them. Carleton promised to forgive them if they dispersed; they did so, and he kept his word.

Mr. Cuthbert, a former officer in the British regular army, seigneur of Berthier, made a peremptory demand on the military service of his tenants. They told him not a man of them would follow him; and made an oath on the public cross, at the place of meeting, that they would never

take up arms against the Americans; that if any one of them offered to join the government, they would burn his house and barn, and destroy his cattle; and that, if Carleton attempted to compel them into the service, they would repel force by force. M. Lanaudiere, seigneur of St. Anne's went to Berthier to make the attempt in which Cuthbert failed. The people seized him, with seventeen of his companions, and held warm debates as to whether they should send him to the American camp at St. John's. Finally, on his promise to obtain for them the governor's pardon, and never again to come amongst them on a like errand, he and his friends were set at liberty.

The main reason why the peasants—when aroused, a determined and warlike race—refused to do military service was, not that they disliked their new rulers, but that they detested the new Bill. The men of Berthier declared that if Governor Carleton would promise, and affix the promise to the church door, that he would do his best for the repeal of the Quebec Bill, they were ready to defend the Province. They said "that on a sudden, without any provocation on their part, they had been reduced to their former state of slavery. They were told to regard the invaders as enemies. But then the invaders said that they were not enemies but their best friends. The invaders were now in arms for the defence of the peasants from their oppressors; and made the repeal of the Quebec Bill one of the conditions for laying down their arms. (Maseres papers).

The conduct of the peasants drew out hints from the government, that their refusal to obey the seigneurs had justified the forfeiture of their lands, and that suits at law would be taken to dispossess them. The peasants admitted that they had incurred forfeiture, but were determined to hold possession of their lands by force. Happily for Canada and Great Britain, the soldier-statesman who governed the Province did not allow any actions for forfeiture to be taken.

But it was not the peasants only to whom the Quebec Act was a menace and a grievance. The men of the towns held the measure in detestation. In Montreal, the captain of the French Canadian militia declared to Carleton "that his compatriots would not take arms as a militia unless His Excellency would assure them, on his honour, that he would use his utmost endeavours to get the Quebec Bill repealed." The governor thereupon gave the promise.

The government of Canada felt that it had, in all justice and generosity, an irresistible claim on the Roman Catholic Church in the Province. It invoked the aid of the church to influence the peasants. But the children closed their ears against the advice of their mother, and steeled their hearts against her entreaties. (Maseres).

After the conquest, the grand vicar and clergy of Quebec, the see being vacant by the death of its former occupant, Mgr. Pontbriant, applied to the Captain General, Murray, asking that their right to elect should be recognized. The governor transmitted the matter to the home authorities, and recommended the granting of the demand. In 1763 the law officers of the Crown decided that the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics in the British Islands did not extend to the colonies. Accordingly, the Chapter of Quebec elected as their bishop, M. de Montgolfier, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal, a native of France who had held himself aloof from the British. The governor took exception to the nomination, and M. Briand, a Breton by birth, one of the canons and Grand Vicar of Quebec, was designated for the vacant Episcopate. M. Briand was chosen. In the same year, 1764, he visited London, and received, with the consent of the King, his bulls on investiture from Pope Clement XIII; and then repairing to Paris, was there consecrated. To the Province of Quebec, which had been without a bishop from 1760 to 1766, Mgr. Briand returned in the latter year, a stipendiary of the King of England to the extent of £200 sterling annually. His acceptance of the yearly pension, and his subsequent administration, contributed to his unpopularity and lessened his influence. It seemed, on his return to Canada, that he would exercise only the milder and more beneficent duties of his high office. In his reply to those who welcomed his arrival he deprecated pomp and ceremony. He told them that "he did not come into the province to be a bishop on the same high footing as his predecessors in the time of the French Government; that he was 'un simple faiseur de prêtres'—a mere ordainer of priests."

Mgr. Briand, in 1775, at the instance of the Government issued an encyclical letter to the French Canadian people. In this epistle the bishop exhorted them to take up arms for the Crown against the American invaders. To those who obeyed, he promised indulgences. Over the heads of those who should refuse, he suspended the thunders of excommunication. The reception accorded to the letter was another instance of a phenomenon sometimes witnessed in history—that when the political passions of men begin to boil, the elements of religious kinship and obligation begin to evaporate. The very quarrel then in progress between Great Britain and her colonies was proof to the point.

The people not only turned deaf ears to the injunctions of the bishop, but expressed the opinion that his

action in the dispute was quite unsuitable to the character of a Christian prelate, who ought to have no concern in anything that involved the shedding of blood. They even went further than this. They assumed that Bishop Briand's conduct had been influenced by the pension of £200 a year he received from the King of England, and by the expectation he had formed of a larger gratuity. The French Canadians not only disobeyed their bishop, but went so far as to lampoon him in more than thirty songs, which were circulated during the summer of 1775. (Maseres).

The situation Carleton had to face was certainly a perilous one. The army of occupation in Canada, owing to the exactions of the wars in Europe, had been reduced to an insignificant force. And according to Allison (History of Europe, chap. xci), the whole military force of the empire did not amount to 20,000 men. The whole population of Canada consisted of 90,000 souls, of whom perhaps 1,000 were English speaking. The population of the English colonies in revolt was 3,000,000.

The governor, realizing that it would be absolutely impossible to raise a force under the old militia laws, or under any sort of compulsion, decided to do the best he could with the few men—principally of the seigneur class and retired British soldiers—who offered their services as volunteers.

Here, perhaps, it might be explained, that although the French Canadian peasants refused in so many notable cases to serve in the militia, they showed less practical sympathy with the Continentals than did their neighbors of English speech, the larger proportion of whom had drifted into Canada from the older English colonies.

In an official list Carleton forwarded to England of "the principal persons settled in the province who very zealously served the rebels in the winter of 1775 and 1776, and fled upon their leaving it" there does not appear one French Canadian name. The list included 29 of Scottish, 21 of American, five of English and one of French (old France) birth.

Blood was shed at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, and a few days afterwards, Colonel Warner, with a view, even at that early stage of affairs, of preparing for an expedition into Canada, obtained the mastery of Lake Champlain without any loss of men. The first invasion of Canada after its passing under British rule speedily followed. A detachment of revolutionary troops under Benedict Arnold was despatched down that old route of invasion—the Richelieu River, and St. Johns, garrisoned by a sergeant and ten men, fell an easy prize about the end of May.

A few days afterwards, June 10, this important fortress was retaken by M. de Belestre at the head of eighty Canadian volunteer militiamen raised in Montreal and vicinity. The victory is one of great historical interest as the first recorded feat of arms of a force of Canadian militia fighting alone under the flag of England.

De Belestre's detachment included a goodly representation of the blue-blood of New France, and several old officers of the former French militia, as attested by such names as the Chevalier de Belestre, de Longueuil, de Lotbinière, de Rouville, de Boucherville, de la Corne, de Labruière, de St. Ours, Perthuis, Hervieux, Gamelin, de Montigny, d'Eschambault and others.

For this service, General Carleton publicly thanked them. In September of the same year, this party, with the assistance of a number of Quebec and Three Rivers volunteers, viz: Messrs. de Montesson, Duchesnay, de Rigouvill, de Salaberry, de Tonancour, Beaubien, Demusseau, Moquin, Lamarque, Faucher and others, started for St. Johns to relieve a detachment of the 7th and 26th regiments, then in charge of the fort, and who expected a siege, but after being beleaguered, the fort surrendered on the 2nd of November to General Montgomery. The Canadians and soldiers were carried away prisoners of war, Congress refusing to exchange the Canadians, "they being too much attached to the English government and too influential in their own country." Two, Messrs. de Montesson and de Rigouville, died prisoners of war; de la Corne, Perthuis and Beaubien had been killed during the siege; de Lotbinière had an arm shot off; de Salaberry was twice wounded. The garrison under Preston made a gallant defense, successfully withstanding a fierce assault delivered during a severe storm.

June 26, Carleton wrote to Lord Dartmouth from Montreal that with his best efforts he had only been able to assemble 500 men at Chambly and St. Johns, artillery included.

July 1st, Lord Dartmouth wrote from Whitehall, authorizing Carleton to raise 3,000 men, either to act separately, or in conjunction with the regular troops, as should be deemed most expedient. The arms and clothing had been ordered, and the same pay would be given to officers and men as to the British regular troops. July 24th, in consequence of despatches received from Gage, Dartmouth again wrote ordering Carleton to raise 6,000, instead of 3,000 men.

Carleton did everything he could to raise men, but apart from the corps organized in the leading centres of population, the number of militia recruits offering was very small. The governor offered tempting conditions. For men who would volunteer for the war

for each unmarried private he offered grants of 200 acres of land, married ones 250 acres, besides 50 more for each of the children; the land to be held free of all imposts for 20 years. Yet these offers attracted few recruits.

Carleton desired to succor St. Johns by means of the armed rural populations of the Montreal and Three Rivers districts, but nearly the whole militia of the district of Three Rivers refused to march at the command of the governor. Some few hundreds of rural royalists, responding to the call to arms, assembled at Montreal; but, perceiving that Carleton was dubious of their fidelity, most of them returned to their homes. The Chambly people joined a Continental detachment, and actually assisted in the capture of the fort at that place, but Carleton did not abandon hope of relieving the besieged garrison of St. Johns. The fort there was only a poor affair, planking being the only shelter afforded from the beseiger's fire, although the fort was the key of the frontier line of defence. Colonel Maclean the commandant at Quebec led 300 of his militiamen as far as St. Denis, where he expected to be joined by Carleton with the Montreal militia, but the govenror got no further than Longueuil, fearing to disembark, as he learned that some of his men contemplated joining the enemy. Maclean returned to Sorel, where nearly all of his men, being gained over by emissaries from the Chambly sympathisers, deserted to the enemy. This desertion, coupled with the inability of Carleton to rely upon his corps of 800 militia raised in the Montreal district, left Maclean with no alternative but to retreat to Quebec, and after a siege of 45 days, Fort St. Johns, with its garrison of 500 men, surrendered.

September 25, an attempt was made to take Montreal by surprise by Colonel Ethan Allen and Major Brown. Allen with 110 men crossed to the Island of Montreal, and was assured of assistance from sympathisers in the city, but was encountered and captured near Longue Pointe by a force of 60 regulars and 300 of the town militia commanded by Major Carden, who was mortally wounded in the fight which took place before the invaders surrendered.

At this time Montreal was a small place of 7,000 or 8,000 population and defended by a feeble and decidedly dilapidated wall. At one place a pile of rubbish was lying against the outside of the wall and reached almost to the top of it. In another place some of the citizens, in a delightful spirit of independence, had broken down a section of the wall to make a convenient entrance for the teams drawing wood into the city, thus saving a considerable detour to the nearest gate. Military defences had not been allowed to stand in the way of business convenience. There were rusty guns mounted in the little citadel, but their carriages were rotting away, and there were but few gunners to man them. The governor had barely enough regular soldiers for the guard, and only a portion of the militia could be depended upon. The English-speaking merchants were generally dissatisfied, especially some of the leading ones, who had come from the older English colonies, and the people of the suburbs were practically friendly to the Continentals. This had been shown by the refusal of the suburbanites to deliver up their ladders to the garrison, the governor having deemed it a wise precaution, in view of the possibility of an attempt by escalade, to have all ladders placed in the citadel.

November 12, 1775, when Montgomery's army crossed the St. Lawrence to the Island of Montreal, the energetic Carleton, made his escape by night in a boat from the lower part of the town. Montgomery simply had to march his men into the city to take possession. The Continental general explained to the inhabitants that being defenceless they could not stipulate terms, but he promised to respect their personal rights on condition that the keys of the public stores were turned over to him.

The possession of the public stores was no insignificant matter, for Montgomery found himself badly supplied with clothing, food and ammunition. As he advanced further from his base the wants of his army naturally became more acute. The campaigning about Lake Champlain and the Richelieu had been very rough and trying on equipment, and the Continental soldiers had been very glad to appropriate and don the reserve uniforms of British troops they had found in the military stores of St. Johns and Chambly. And so it happened that when Montgomery and his army entered Montreal by the Recollet Gate on November 13th, quite a number of the Continentals wore scarlet coats.

The story of the siege of Quebec by the Continentals under Arnold and Montgomery belongs rather to the pages of national history than to this volume. On December the 22nd, Carleton ordered all who would not join in the defence of the city to leave it within four days. After their departure he found himself supported by 300 regulars, 330 Anglo-Canadian militia, 543 French Canadians, 485 seamen and marines, and 120 artificers capable of bearing arms. In all 1,778 men.

A very important part was played in the repulse of the combined assault on Quebec by the Canadian militia. It was Captain Chabot, a militia officer, who gave the command to fire which swept the head of Montgomery's assaulting column away and laid the general himself low. A handful of Canadians opposed Arnold's column, holding their ground foot

by foot with great obstinacy. When the Continentals planted their scaling ladders against the inner barricade on St. James Street, a town militiaman named Charland, an intrepid and robust man, advanced amidst a shower o' balls, seized the ladders and drew them inside the barricade. This post was held by Captain Dumas' militia company, and its relief was finally effected by Captain Marcoux's company reinforced by a few regulars. The elder Papineau (Joseph), served as a volunteer in Captain Marcoux's company.

About the middle of May, part of Arnold's army, which had retreated from before Quebec on the 6th, arrived in Montreal. Reinforcements were coming to the Continentals via the Richelieu, but so were British reinforcements, via the Atlantic. In June, Arnold and the remnant of his and Montgomery's armies reached Montreal, Arnold establishing his headquarters at the Chateau de Ramezay. He found that but few Canadian sympathizers remained, for the failures of the Continentals and the energy of the British had a depressing effect upon the disloyal, and encouraged the French Canadian clergy and gentry to make redoubled efforts to wean the mass of the people from their temporary lapse of indifference.

The merchants of Montreal, and the Canadian "habitants" as well, soon ceased to be indifferent. They found the ill-provided, half-starved, and generally mutinous Continentals very different from the well-found and thoroughly disciplined troops of the British. The Continentals, for want of money, seized goods on promises to pay, and the promises were never redeemed. The British paid for all the goods the merchants could spare, and for all the produce the farmers could supply, in good yellow gold. The Continental soldiers performed all kinds of arbitrary and illegal acts, and their officers would not or dare not bring them to book; while British soldiers charged with offences against even the local French colonial ordinances, the habitants remembered, had been promptly arrested, and even handed over to courts of which French Canadian militia officers officiated as judges, for trial.

French Canadians, in several districts, took the field against the Continentals.

Ogdensburg was still a British post, and fairly strongly held, and Arnold feared that the commander of the place might try a sudden dash upon Montreal via the St. Lawrence. To guard against such a contingency he posted a considerable force at the Cedar Rapids, where any force descending the St. Lawrence would have to make a portage. Considerable consternation and alarm was caused in the Montreal garrison when it became known that this party had been attacked and captured by a party of French Canadian militia, for the French Canadians all through the country were becoming more and more unfriendly and aggressively hostile.

A retirement of the Continental garrison of Montreal was ordered without delay, and by June 16th the last Continental soldier had crossed the river. The advance guard of a British force from Quebec marched into the little citadel, the Union Jack was once more raised over Montreal, and there it has remained ever since.

Once the Continental troops evacuated Canada there was no grave danger again during the war, owing to the arrival of strong reinforcements from England.

Between 1776 and 1783, Governor Carleton maintained three companies of Canadian militia, raised by voluntary enlistment, on a war footing, and he detailed a certain number of non-commissioned officers from these companies as well as from the regular regiments, to act as instructors of the sedentary militia, who had been enrolled after the old French method.

As soon as the invaders had been expelled, Carleton set himself to work to endeavor to place the militia on a sound footing, but his time for some months was largely taken up providing for the large force of regular and Hessian troops sent to Canada to operate against the revolting colonies by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George. He realized that the first thing to do was to prepare and have passed a militia ordinance clearly defining the authority of the government and the duties to be imposed upon the people.

For various reasons he was led to favour the old French laws and customs as the basis of the new ordinance rather than the English militia law. Militia laws framed after the English model had been for years in existence in most of the New England and southern colonies and had proved most defective, the generals commanding in the old French wars being never able to depend upon obtaining the levies ordered from the various colonies. Moreover, such levies as did reach the camps of mobilization were often insubordinate and mutinous, and seldom amenable to ordinary discipline.

On the other hand, the French militia laws and usages had put practically the whole male population in the field upon emergency, and kept them on service in a useful state.

Carleton would naturally suppose, too, that the Canadians would prefer an ordinance similar to those to which they had been accustomed, and of course the seignorial influence about him would encourage him in that view.

So it came to pass that at the historical session of

the Legislative Council held at Quebec in 1777, among the sixteen ordinances passed was one providing for the regulation of the militia, based largely upon the laws and practices which prevailed, or were supposed to have prevailed, during the French regime. Critics of the measure declared that the council was misled by the over-zealous seigneurs who had seats at their board, and charged that the new militia ordinance established for a common rule, obligations which were in New France never imposed on the militiamen, excepting under extraordinary circumstances, as when public spirit and popular readiness with regard to the defence of the colony exceeded the demands of the government. As a matter of fact the new ordinance subjected the inhabitants to rigorous military service, such as to bear arms beyond Canada for an indefinite time, to do vicariously, agricultural labour for absentees serving in the army, etc.; all to be gratuitously performed, under heavy penalties for refusal or neglect. Provision was made for calling out the militia for corvée or statute labour, a very important duty, particularly with the need of making and keeping in repair the roads from Montreal to the scene of active operations on Lakes Champlain and George and the Upper Hudson.

In a letter of Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germaine, dated Quebec, 20th May, 1777, he wrote — "Three hundred Canadian militia are also to make the campaign (Burgoyne's via Lake George and the Hudson), to be disposed of by Lieut.-General Burgoyne, the same I had ordered while I flattered myself I should have the conduct of the war on the frontiers of this province, which Canadians, with those necessary for scouring the woods towards the New England provinces, and a great number which must be employed for the forwarding all things for those two expeditions, is, I think, in the first dawning of good order and obedience, as much as ought, in prudence, to be demanded from this unfortunate province."

July 10, Carleton wrote Lord Germaine that the number of militia called out being insufficient, encouragement was given to volunteers. St. Luc La Corne, Lanaudière and others assembled about 170 and joined the Western Indians under Campbell; those from the interior of the province were led by Fraser. A corvée of 500 men for Burgoyne had gone off with a better grace than was expected. So soon as the transport was finished the number should be increased. He would do everything possible to assist Burgoyne. These services were a burden on the people; and there were difficulties in the way of restoring the old usages, especially as he had been deprived of support by the appointment of an inferior officer (Burgoyne) to the command of this army. There had been desertions among the armed militia force, but two men for each deserter had been ordered from the respective parishes. He enclosed the opinion of the new Attorney General as to the legal proceedings in such cases. In 1775, he asked for no lawyer's opinion, but, having full confidence in the judgment of the ministers then, he took the steps that were necessary without waiting for orders.

After the war the Canadian people appear to have devoted some attention to the question of defence. Considerable agitation arose against the militia laws on account of the provisions imposing statute labour upon the people, English and French being associated in the agitation.

In the celebrated "Appeal" of Pierre du Calvet, whose name figures so prominently in the history of Montreal and the province of that time, published in 1784, was a suggestion that a permanent regiment of two battalions be established in the province, with the ultimate object of expanding this force to provide for small detachments in each parish, to serve as an example and point d'appui for the sedentary militia. Du Calvet suggested that the chief officers should be British, and discouraged the idea of recruiting from the militia, as the Canadians were required for the cultivation of the soil. Apparently his idea was that the subalterns and non-commissioned officers should be Canadians, the superior officers and privates, British, the latter, probably, discharged men from the army.

June 13th, 1787, Lord Dorchester (formerly Guy Carleton) wrote to Lord Sydney announcing the passing by the Council of "An Act to Regulate the Militia." The ordinance provided for detachments being embodied for two years; Dorchester would have preferred three. He expressed the hope that the ordinance "would have the effect of curing the dangerous supineness produced by the disuse of all militia service to train up youth in discipline and obedience, and to teach the people that the defence of the country is their own immediate concern; and would provide for many natives and residents of distinction."

The governor proceeded to explain that the corps to be raised under this ordinance may be increased as exigencies require, and always preserved complete. He asked leave to embody three battalions, two of Canadians and one of British or loyalists, on the same plan as those existing in England, except that the colonel should have neither pay nor emolument. The governor, in concluding his communication to the minister, wrote:—"If this measure cannot be carried out in peace there is little hope of drawing out the strength of the country in case of invasion."

September 14th, the same year, Lord Sydney wrote

Dorchester that the proposal for the establishment of a Canadian militia was approved of, and that clothing for the proposed battalions would be sent out early in the spring.

Sir Guy Carleton later added two battalions raised in Canada to the 60th Royal Americans, now the 60th Royal Rifles. The two new battalions, according to Mr. Sulte, were placed under the command of Colonel Louis Joseph Fleury d'Eschambault, an officer in H. M. 109th Regiment, whose father had been the richest and one of the most patriotic men in New France before the change of flags. The two battalions so raised served not only in Canada, but in the Antilles, Jersey, Guernsey and elsewhere, but being annoyed at being considered, for purposes of promotion, etc., without the pale of the regular army, the officers asked for disbandment, which was accorded.

Early in 1788, Dorchester issued circulars to the lieut.-governors, the object being to show the people the necessity for standing forward in their own defence. On the 9th of January he wrote Lord Sydney, drawing attention to the want of small arms, and recommending that 30,000 be sent, namely, 20,000 for Quebec (old province, which practically included the present province of Ontario), and 5,000 each for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He also urged the despatch to Canada of strong reinforcements of regulars.

September 25th, 1790, Lord Dorcheste· wrote from Quebec to Mr. Grenvi le that the prospect of a war with Spain seemed a proper occasion to call on each of the Provinces for its own defence, so that the troops might be united for general defence. General orders respecting the militia had been ordered for this province, and copies sent to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for consideration. The governor pointed out that corps formed from the militia were the only reinforcements that could be had on a sudden emergency. If a certain number of militia were kept always embodied, one-half or one-third to be discharged annually and replaced from the mass, it would be the means of restoring habits of mi itary service, and revive a spirit of national defence. It was the wisest course to rely on the people for their own defence.

In 1791, the Constitutional Act was passed dividing the old colony of Quebec into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada; from which time, until the passage of the Act of Union in 1842, the militias of Upper and Lower Canada were distinct forces under separate staffs and separate laws.

While the Constitutional Act was under discussion, Lord Dorchester, the governor, urged upon the British government the importance of establishing "a respectable militia." He wrote:—"To effect this in Canada a law was passed in 1787, enabling the governor to embody draughts to serve for two years in rotation, under a permanent corps of officers. This measure has not yet been carried into execution. It should be extended to all the king's colonies. Without it the dominion of Great Britain on the continent of America will always be precarious. A quantity of small arms should also be deposited in the king's colonies for use of the militia in general in case of emergency."

To this Lord Grenville replied:—"It is conceived that Lord Dorchester might be instructed to propose a new law to the Legislature for embodying two or three battalions of militia, stating the time of service to be for two or three years, and then to have fresh ballots, and so to proceed as often as the militia is called out at the end of every two or three years. This would be an Act for a regular permanent militia. But Query? Whether it would be necessary to keep the same embodied more than a month or six weeks, in every year, during which time only the men and officers are to be paid.

"The expense otherwise would be considerable.

"The other particulars mentioned by Lord Dorchester seem proper.

"It appears by the 5th suggestion that no steps were taken to carry into execution the Militia Act passed in Canada in 1787, and I am of opinion that it might now be a proper measure to propose a permanent Militia Act, which as far as local circumstances will admit of, should be in the general outlines of its formation in a great measure similar to our own.

"The time of service I apprehend should not be less than three nor more than five years, and then each corps to be renewed by fresh ballots. But neither the men nor officers should receive any pay except during the time they remain embodied, such time not to be less than —— in every year, and only one-half of the militia to be called out. At the same time there should be a provision to enable the governor, at his discretion, to call the whole out at any time, but not to keep them embodied longer than —— weeks without the consent of the Legislature of the province.

"I will only add that the Act for so important a measure as the constituting of a permanent militia should either be transmitted home for His Majesty's assent or rather a copy of the Bill before its passage thro' the Provincial Legislature.

"It will be certainly necessary to deposit a proportionable quantity of small arms within the pro-

vince, and it will be equally so that some coercive mode should be adopted for their preservation, and their regular and frequent production."

The arrival of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, father of her late Majesty Queen Victoria, at Quebec in 1791, as Colonel of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, (City of London Regiment), is an event of some interest to the Canadian militia. During his sojourn in Quebec the Duke made himself very agreeable with leading French Canadian families, and was instrumental in securing commissions in the regular army for some dozen young French Canadians, several of whom have left their mark on the militia force and on national history. Among these protégés of the Duke were four of the de Salaberry family, two of that of Juchereau-Duchesnay, and two of that of Des Rivieres.

Meantime France had been passing through the revolutionary period, and the long-threatened war between the two mother countries of the Canadian people had broken out.

An example of Popular Interest in the South African Contingents.
Crowds at Quebec watching the Departure of the "Sardinian," October 30th, 1899.

CHAPTER IV

THE UPPER CANADA MILITIA

THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION UNDER GOVERNOR SIMCOE.—THE BRITISH MODEL OF THE NEW FORCE.—THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE REBELLION OF 1837-38.

BY the Constitutional Act two provinces, "Lower Canada" and "Upper Canada," were created out of what was left of the original Province of Quebec after the treaty of peace with the United States. To each province was left the regulation of its militia.

At the time of the cession the territory comprised within the Province of Upper Canada was virtually a wilderness. There were trading posts at a few places and a respectable frontier military post—or rather its ruins —at Frontenac, now Kingston. Practically there was no settlement and no militia.

Immediately succeeding the conquest there was a small influx of immigration into the Upper Canadian wilderness but it remained for the great upheaval of the American Revolution to furnish the province with her first settlement of any great account. The story of the United Empire Loyalists, of their pathetic and noble loyalty, of their sacrifices, their hardships, and their settlement in what is now the Province of Ontario, in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and in New Brunswick, is a part of the national history of this country and a part which will never be forgotten by the people of Canada.

By 1791, thanks largely to the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists, the population of Upper Canada had attained such dimensions as to give weight to the expressed wish of the inhabitants, to whom the French laws and usages of the old the Province of Quebec were irksome, that they be accorded a separate government, hence the Constitutional Act. In the light of present development, the population of Upper Canada at that time does not seem very considerable, being only about twenty-five thousand, but it was a population strongly imbued with pure patriotic principles and high military spirit.

We are able to form some idea of the feelings of the men of Upper Canada of that time from the knowledge that the first business of the second session of the first parliament of Upper Canada, March 31st, 1793, was the passage of a Militia Act (33 George III. Chap. 1).

Up to this time, according to section xxxiii of the Constitutional Act (31st George III. Chap. xxxi) all laws, statutes and ordinances which had been in force in the original Province of Quebec continued to be of the same force, authority and effect in the province as if the Act in question had not been passed.

The original Upper Canada Militia Act was drafted by Governor Simcoe himself and provided for the organization of the provincial militia on a system very closely indeed approximating to that then existing in England. This English militia system had been the development of many centuries of experience and legislation, and a brief review of that development is essential to a clear appreciation of the principles which guided the original organizer of the provincial militia of Upper Canada in his work.

The actual origin of the English militia is lost in antiquity. The Roman invasion was stoutly resisted by armed tribes resembling a militia and possessing both organization and military ability.

Under the Anglo-Saxon kings of England, when the question of defence against the Scots, the Welsh, and particularly the Danes and other over-sea raiders, was a very live one in England, all men were required to bear arms as a sort of body-rent for the land they held, but there was no special organization until King Alfred's reign. That wise sovereign about the year 880, organized the militia or fyrd, making land the basis of numbers, but the family system that of discipline. So many families were a tything, ten tythings a hundred, and hundreds were united into county powers, each under its heretoga, leader, dux or duke. Each section of the community had not only to furnish its quota in time of war, but also to provide arms, keep them in repair, and train its men or "general levy" for so many days every year.

Britain was not by any means, as often stated, the home of the militia system. The most ancient national military organization of which we have any authentic record is the great military caste of Egypt, really a national militia. The defensive force of Egypt at the command of the Pharoahs of the Old Testament, eighteen centuries before the Christian era, consisted of the soldier-farmer caste, the men of which were agriculturists in peace time; soldiers in time of war.

The occupancy and tillage of the soil imposed upon them the obligation to military service, and each man provided himself with his own arms and had to be in readiness to serve when called upon. The old Egyptian armies chiefly depended upon the number and skill of their archers, who fought either on foot or in chariots. Scarcely any representations of Egyp ian cavalry are found on the monuments, but frequent mention is made in Holy writ of the horsemen of Egypt, as accompanying Joseph, as pursuing the Israelites, and as being thrown in the Red Sea.

But to return to the militia force in Britain. After the Norman conquest, A.D. 1066, the baronial troops introduced with the continental feudal system, rendered the militia largely unnecessary, but it never ceased wholly to exist, and when the period of contention between the Crown and the barons began, the kings found their most powerful instrument in the Saxon militia.

It is after the Norman conquest that we first hear of the "feudal levy" in addition to the "general levy" of Saxon days, the distinction between these forces being that while obligation to serve in the latter rested upon being a male, within certain limits of age, service in the "feudal levy" depended upon tenure of land under the king, as feudal lord. The general levy probably constituted the larger part of the infantry, while the feudal levy consisted of knights, who, with their retainers, mounted and armed, were bound to attend the king at their own expense.

Henry II established in 1181 "an assize of arms," at which every holder of land was bound to produce one or more men fully equipped and capable of fighting in the national defence. An Act passed in the reign of Edward I. (13 Edward I., cap. 16) decreed that every freedman between the age of fifteen and sixty was to be available to preserve peace within his county or shire, and liable to serve elsewhere "upon the coming of strange enemies into the realm." During the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, the statutes bearing upon the military obligations of subjects were consolidated, and the Lieutenants of Counties were constituted as the agents of the Crown for the purpose of effecting levies for the internal defence of the country.

In 1604, four years before Champlain founded Quebec, James I. abolished the old Saxon "fyrd," and substituted "trained bands," a force being established numbering 160,000 men, partaking of the nature both of volunteers and militia, but deficient in discipline and drill.

During the reign of Charles I. (1625 to 1648), frequent disputes arose between the King and the Parliament as to the command of the "trained bands," and during a Parliamentary debate on this subject the name militia appears to have been first given to the trained bands. A Parliamentarian of the day, Whitelocke, piously expressed his regret "that this great word, this new word, 'the militia,' this harsh word," had ever been introduced in the House.

One of the first acts after the restoration, was one to establish the militia on a constitutional basis, owners of property, by the Act of 1662, being obliged to furnish horses, horsemen, foot soldiers, and arms in proportion to their property. The similarity of this system and that of feudal days, when the nobility were called upon to supply their quota of retainers, must strike any one. In 1757, the English militia, having been several times called out in the meantime on active service, a re-organization took place, and the obligation to supply the men, horses, etc., was transferred from the owners of property to the counties and parishes, which had to provide fixed quotas. Obligatory service by ballot was also introduced. The period of service was for three years, the age limits being 18 to 50, with certain exemptions. An Act passed in 1758 was the first to officially recognize volunteers as counting toward the quota.

It was in 1794, a year later than the passage of

Governor Simcoe's Militia Act, that Mr. Pitt passed his bill "for the encouragement and discipline" of the British volunteers, and made his historical appeal to the "gentlemen and yeomanry" in each county, and as a result of which the Fencible or Militia Cavalry began to be called "Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry."

Ireland and Scotland did not furnish any regular militia until 1715 and 1797 respectively, although in Scotland, militia existed long before 1797, namely, in Perthshire, in 1684. The Irish militia when first raised, in 1715, was restricted to Protestants between the ages of 16 and 60.

In accordance with his wish to follow, as far as possible, the English militia system, Simcoe introduced by his first Militia Act into Upper Canada the office of Lieutenants of Counties, an office held in England by gentlemen or noblemen of loyalty and distinction, as military deputies for the king, for the government of the militia in their respective counties.

On the division of the counties or ridings, Simcoe appointed a lieutenant in each whose duty was the delimitation of the militia districts, with a general oversight and power or recommendation of officers to the command of the militia force. Simcoe's views on this subject are found in a letter he wrote to Col. Alex. McKee on his appointment to the office of Lieutenant of Essex County, as follows:—

"It may not be improper to observe that this high office, under the constitution of Britain, is generally conferred upon the persons who seem most respectable to His Majesty's Government, for their property, loyalty, abilities, and discretion in their several counties, and from a combination of such possessions and qualities, acquire that weight, respect, and public confidence which render them the natural support of constitutional authority. If on the one hand this office has been at all times bestowed by the Sovereign with the circumspection and caution due to the important trusts which it involves, on the other it has been a principal object of honourable ambition, which the British Constitution approves, in the first men of the state, making a due provision of power for that local aristocracy which the experience of ages has approved necessary to the balance and permanency of her inestimable form of government."

The office of Lieutenant of Counties does not seem to have suited the conditions of the new country, and it did not last long. The granting of commissions in the militia was preferred to be vested directly in the Crown, without the intermediation of the Lieutenants of Counties. In this only did Simcoe s plan fail of success.

The governing principle of this first militia law, and the principle has been retained ever since, was practically universal liability to service. With certain very natural limitations, the whole male population between the ages of 16 and 50, composed the militia. Every lad on attaining the age of sixteen was obliged to enroll himself with the militia officer in charge of the district under penalty, for neglect, of a fine of four dollars. This first militia of Upper Canada was something more than a sedentary militia; though not much more perhaps. The force was divided into regiments and companies, and every company had to be paraded and inspected by its captain at least twice a year, a serious enough obligation in those days, with the difficult means of communication taken into consideration. Though there was no provision for pay for these parades, the officer who absented himself was liable to a fine of eight dollars, and the private to one of two dollars for each offence.

There was no provision in this Act for the training of the officers and non-commissioned officers, a most obvious shortcoming for any practical militia enactment, but it must be remembered that a goodly proportion of the most influential settlers of Upper Canada, from whom officers and non-commissioned officers would naturally be drawn, were men who had served their king and country long and faithfully in the ranks of regular or colonial regiments. The country at this particular time had in fact all the trained officers it was likely to require, and it must not be forgotten that many of the more ordinary pioneer settlers of those days, the men who would compose the rank and file of the infant militia force, were also men who had seen military service. In fact the whole male population of those days, whether of any previous military experience or not, were well qualified by the very nature of their pioneer existence to play the part of soldiers, upon emergency, well and usefully. So the brave old Simcoe's militia Act was well devised for the particular occasion upon which it was required, although under existing conditions it would have been absolutely worthless. In fact it was not long before the rapidly changing conditions of the country, and the equally rapid changes in the character of the population, made radical amendments absolutely necessary.

The first enrollment under this Act produced a force of 4,213. The result appears to have fallen short of expectations, and in the following year (1794) the Militia Act of Upper Canada was amended so as to make men up to sixty years of age eligible for the militia, and the scope of the force was at the same time extended, the militiamen becoming liable for service on the war vessels on the lakes.

This was a stirring time for Europe, and also for Canada. The French revolution, with its excesses and upheavals, affected the whole world. Continental

Europe stood aghast; England girded up her loins for the inevitable conflict.

In 1793, Genest, the Ambassador of the French Directory in the United States, began to fit out privateers against British commerce. The anti-federalists (or Democrats) encouraged him, and when France declared war upon Britain they urged that the United States should enter into alliance with the new French republic in return for the assistance France had given during the Revolutionary War. George Washington, at this time in his second term as President of the United States, requested the French Government to recall Genest, and the request was complied with. The war fever he was fostering subsided considerably upon the recall of the French agitator, but while it lasted it caused considerable excitement in Canada, particularly in the infant Province of Upper Canada, which considered itself, as it were, between two fires—the zealous hatred of the tyrannical democracy of the United States on the one hand, and the, to them, questionable fidelity of the French-Canadians of Lower Canada on the other.

And there remained after the recall of Genest other causes for threatening agitations and war talk in the United States. The western Indians were firm in their demands that the United States withdraw from the country north of the Ohio, and, of course, the United States would do nothing of the kind. It was claimed that the obstinacy of the Indians was due to British interference, based upon a desire to keep the Indian country under the British flag. The retention of Detroit and the western posts was pointed to as proof of Britain's determination to keep the United States hemmed in to the westward. Britain had no such designs, for she repeatedly called upon the government of the United States to do its part towards fulfilling the articles of the treaty of peace of 1783 with respect to the confiscated property of the expelled loyalists and the debts due them, promising that as soon as that was done the British troops would be withdrawn from the western posts. The out-and-out democrats agitated, "talked war" and urged the conquest of Canada. Probably only the great personal influence of George Washington preserved peace at this juncture. Jefferson, Madison, and the whole of their party were wholly in sympathy with the French revolution, and adopted even the extravagant dress and symbols of the Sans-Culottes of Paris.

The anxiety naturally created in the minds of the Upper Canadians by this agitation for war in the United States was increased by a scheme for the invasion of Canada from Louisiana by French, Spanish and Indian forces via the Mississippi and Michigan. The project never materialized, as President Washington, much to the indignation of Jefferson, Madison and the Democrats, refused to allow a Franco-Spanish army to traverse United States territory to attack the colony of a friendly power.

It was under these circumstances that the Militia Act of 1794 was passed with a view to making the Upper Canada militia more efficient. Heretofore the militiamen had been expected to provide their own arms.

During this year there was a considerable distribution of arms throughout the province at the public expense. A general Indian war had been in progress in the western part of the United States, and General Wayne, after defeating the Shawnees with great slaughter, declared his intention to attack Detroit and the other British posts in the west. It was as much as Washington and his government could do to persuade the general from carrying out his threat.

Governor Simcoe, while this invasion was threatening, acting on instructions from Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, quietly called out 600 of the new Upper Canadian militia for active service. Two hundred of these men were placed in garrison at Detroit, still held by Britain, the remaining four hundred being disposed along the Niagara frontier.

This force remained on duty until the signing of the treaty concluded by John Jay, Washington's special ambassador, and Lord Grenville, in 1794.

This same year of anxiety and threatened invasions (1794) also saw the organization of the Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment, the first battalion of which was recruited exclusively in Lower Canada; the second battalion of nine companies drawing some of its officers and recruits from Lower Canada, and the rest from the Upper Province, chiefly from among the United Empire Loyalists of Glengarry. This regiment proved the training school for many of the best militia officers of 1812.

After the American Revolution, the district which now forms the Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, was set aside as one of the places of settlement for the United Empire Loyalists, expelled from their homes in the United States. A large majority of the United Empire Loyalists who went to the district were Scottish Highlanders, descendants of men who, after Culloden had been transported to the southern plantations in the Carolinas and Georgias. During the brief peace of 1802, among other veteran regiments which had fought against the French, disbanded, was the 'Glengarry Regiment" of Roman Catholic Highlanders, raised by the Rev. Father Alexander McDonnell, of Glen Urquhart, who, as the regiment's chaplain, accompanied it on its campaigns. On its disbandment he obtained aid from the British Government to transport the men to Canada, and he

accompanied them, joining the Highlander loyalists from the Southern States in the Glengarry District. The brave chaplain to the Glengarry Regiment rose to the Episcopate and died, universally beloved, Bishop of Kingston.

Under Governor Simcoe's militia laws, each county has its own militia regiment looking formidable enough on paper by reason of the lists of full complements of officers, but the ranks cannot have been very full, for there were not at this time more than 12,000 white people, men, women and children, in the whole of Upper Canada.

In 1801 the Militia Act was amended to a trifling extent, but the change was not productive of much good.

By 1805, with Britain, fighting on in her old grim way in Europe, almost isolated, with Canada practically denuded of regular troops, and with the spirit of hostility developing apace in the United States, the question of national defence had again assumed serious importance. The militia were especially warned to hold themselves in readiness, and some 4,000 stands of arms were distributed among them. A return of the militia showed that there were 652 officers and 7,947 non-commissioned officers and men enrolled, but also revealed the disquieting fact that of the whole number only 200 had received any training for several years.

During 1807 one fifth of the whole militia of the sister Province of Lower Canada was called out embodied, and trained. November 26, the same year, Governor Gore of Upper Canada issued a circular to Lieutenants of Counties directing them to call out the militia, and by volunteers or by ballot, to form detachments of one-quarter of the whole, which after being inspected and dismissed, were to be held in readiness to assemble at an hour's notice.

In 1808, at the fourth session of the fourth Parliament of Upper Canada, all of the existing Acts, relative to the militia were repealed their provisions, with some vitally important amendments, being consolidated into one comprehensive Act (Chap. 48, George III), which received the assent of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, March 16th, 1808.

The new Act provided for much more organization within the militia, and enabled the Governor to march the militia out of the province to the assistance of Lower Canada when invaded or in a state of insurrection, or in pursuit of an enemy "who may have invaded this Province, and also for the destruction of any vessels built or building, or any depot or magazine formed or forming, or for the attack of an enemy who may be embodying or marching for the purpose of invading this province, or for the attack of any fortification now erected or which may be hereafter erected to cover the invasion thereof."

Among the provisions of this important Act were the following:—Officers in the regular army were given precedence over militia officers. Each district was to have its regiment, and each company its own limits. The limits of age were fixed at 16 to 60, those between 50 and 60 being exempted, except in case of emergency. There was an annual muster day, a mere formal, personal enrollment, and the man absenting himself was liable to a penalty of a fine of two dollars. The Act still adhered to the original Saxon militia rule as to armament, providing as follows:—"Each militiaman, after enrollment, shall within six months after such enrollment provide himself with a good and efficient musket, fusil, rifle or gun, with at least such six rounds of powder and ball." For failure to comply with this law he was liable to a fine of five shillings in peace time, and a larger one in war time, unless excused by his commanding officer.

Training was aimed at, but in a very modest and imperfect manner. The law obliged captains to call out their companies not less than twice nor oftener than four times each year for arm inspection and training.

One clause of the Act, the 31st, authorized the formation of troops of cavalry in the various regimental districts, and it was under this clause that fourteen years later the original troop of the present Governor-General's Body Guard, Toronto, was first raised.

On the whole, this Act imposed serious obligations upon the male population of Upper Canada, and in view of the readiness with which they submitted to so many exacting terms of service it is difficult to understand how the United States politicians succeeded in inducing themselves to believe that they had but to "send a flag and a proclamation" to Canada to capture the country. They found their mistake in due course of time.

At the session of 1811 a bill was passed providing for the raising and training of the Upper Canada militia, and on the 30th of September of the same year Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore resigned the government of Upper Canada into the hands of Major General Isaac Brock, formerly commandant of the garrison of Quebec, and of the British troops in Canada.

The parliament of Upper Canada in 1812 voted 5,000 pounds sterling for the training of the provincial militia. The population of the province was small compared with the older province, and its revenue comparatively insignificant. At the close of the war the whole population of Upper Canada did not quite number 84,000 souls. This makes the successful defence of the country, considering the small number

of regular troops in the province, all the more remarkable.

On the breaking out of hostilities with the United States in 1812 the regular force in Upper Canada amounted to barely 1,500 men, including seamen, as under:— 41st Regiment, 900; 10th Veterans, 250; Newfoundland Regiment, 250; Royal Artillery, 50; Provincial Seamen, 50; total, 1,500.

This force had to occupy the forts St. Joseph, Amherstburg, and Chippawa, Fort Erie and Fort George, —and York and Kingston—to maintain the superiority on the lakes; to preserve the communication and escort convoys between Coteau du Lac and Kingston; and to defend an assailable frontier of nearly 800 miles, reckoning from the confines of Lower Canada to Amherstburg.

At this critical juncture in its history, Upper Canada had a tower of strength in its active and clever governor, General Isaac Brock. While in command for several years of the garrison in Quebec Brock had evinced an intelligent interest in the defence of the Upper Province.

As commander of the troops in Canada at the time, on October 6 1807, Colonel Brock was written to at Quebec by Lieutenant Governor Sir Francis Gore as follows:—

"I must again beg leave to direct your attention to the present situation of our militia, being almost without arms, and I consider it to be my duty to call upon you for a further supply, and that this supply may be forwarded to Upper Canada in the most expeditious manner. If the militia were properly armed, I then might be enabled to assist the Lower Province."

A marginal note in pencil showed that Brock had 4,000 stand of arms forwarded at once to York.

February 12th, 1807, Colonel Brock wrote from Quebec to the Right Hon. W. Windham of the British government, as follows:—

QUEBEC, February 12, 1807.

I have the honour to transmit for your consideration a proposal of Lieut.-Colonel John M'Donald, late of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, for raising a corps among the Scotch settlers in the county of Glengarry, Upper Canada.

When it is considered that both the Canadas furnish only two hundred militia who are trained to arms, the advantages to be derived from such an establishment must appear very evident.

The military force in this country is very small, and were it possible to collect it in time to oppose any serious attempt upon Quebec, the only tenable post, the number would of itself be insufficient to ensure a vigorous defence.

This corps, being stationed on the confines of the Lower Province, would be always immediately and essentially useful in checking any seditious disposition which the wavering sentiments of a large population in the Montreal district might at any time manifest. In the event of invasion, or other emergency, this force could be easily and expeditiously transported by water to Quebec.

The extent of the country which these settlers occupy would make the permanent establishment of the staff and one sergeant in each company very advisable. I shall not presume to say how far the claims of the field officers to the same indulgence are reasonable and expedient.

In regard to the Rev. Alexander M'Donald, * I beg leave to observe, that the men being all Catholics, it may be deemed a prudent measure to appoint him chaplain. His zeal and attachment to government were strongly evinced whilst filling the office of chaplain to the Glengarry Fencibles, during the rebellion in Ireland, and were graciously acknowledged by His Royal Highness the commander-in-chief.

His influence over the men is deservedly great, and I have every reason to believe that the corps, by his exertions, would be soon completed, and hereafter become a nursery, from which the army might draw a number of hardy recruits.

The original proposal was not entertained, but November 21, 1811, Colonel Baynes writing to Major General Brock at York, from Quebec, stated:—"Governor Gore has revived the formation of the Glengarry Fencibles, and I have shown Sir George Prevost what passed on a former occasion. I hope the latter will be able to provide for his school-fellow, Major General Sheaffe, and he expresses himself very anxious to do so.

December 12, the same year Colonel Baynes wrote to Major-General Brock, from Quebec, as follows:— (Official)

"I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of proposals for raising a corps of Glengarry Fencibles. The commander of the forces has selected an officer of the king's regiment, a Captain George M'Donnell, an avowed Catholic, and a relation of the Glengarry priest of that name, to attempt the formation of a small battalion, to be in the first instance under his command with the rank of major; and in case a more respectable body can be collected, a lieutenant colonel commandant will be appointed. Captain M'Donnell will leave this in a few days, and he will be directed to take an early opportunity of communicating with you as soon as he has felt his ground a little in Glengarry, and is able to form a correct idea of the prospect and extent of success that is likely to attend his exertions.

*Afterwards R.C. Bishop of Regiopolis, in Upper Canada.

"I shall have the honor of sending you by the next post a regulation for the payment of clergymen performing religious duties for the troops at the different stations in Canada. The officiating clergyman at York will receive the garrison allowance of a captain, together with a salary of 70 pounds army sterling per annum. (Private)

"Sir George will fill up the new Glengarry corps with as many officers as he can from the line, with permanent rank, and I have availed myself of the opportunity to propose one, in whose advancement I know you feel an interest. He has allowed me to note Lieutenant Shaw, of the 49th, for a company; and you are at liberty to inform his father, the general, of Sir George's favourable intentions towards his son."

Brock wrote from York, U.C., January 2, 1812, as follows:—

Sir,—

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Excellency's letter (duplicate) of the 13th ulto., stating that Captain Macdonnell of the King's Regiment has been directed to proceed to Glengarry for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of those people to form a Fencible corps. The favourable terms which Your Excellency has authorized Captain Macdonnell to offer cannot fail of success, and I beg leave to assure Your Excellency that I shall gladly lend my best efforts in aid of so desirable an object.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and very humble servant,
ISAAC BROCK, M.-Gen'l.

To His Excellency, Lt.-Gen'l Sir Geo. Prevost, &c., &c.,

It will be observed that Brock's original plan had been considerably altered, the new plan providing for a regularly embodied corps.

Brock, from York, Feb. 6, 1812, wrote Sir George Prevost, as follows:—

"I am happy to inform Your Excellency that the House of Assembly which met last Monday appears disposed to meet my wishes in every particular. The Militia Act is to undergo a revision much for the better, and I am not without the hope of being able to get the House to consent to allow the field officers of the line to command all denominations in the militia."

The gallant general was doomed to disappointment, and February 25th he wrote Sir George Prevost as follows:—

"I had every reason to expect the almost unanimous support of the two branches of the legislature to every means government thought necessary to recommend, but after a short trial found myself egregiously mistaken in my calculation.

"The many doubtful characters in the militia made me very anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill. There were twenty members in the House when this highly important measure was lost by the casting vote of the Chairman. The great influence which the vast number of settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House is truly alarming, and ought by every practical means to be diminished. To give encouragement to real subjects to settle in this province can alone remove the evil. The consideration of the fees ought not to stand in the way of such a politic arrangement, and should your Excellency ultimately determine to promise some of the vast lands of the Crown to such Scotch emigrants as enlist in the Glengarry Regiment, I have no hesitation in recommending in the strongest manner the raising of a Canadian corps upon similar terms, to be hereafter disbanded and distributed among their countrymen in the vicinity of Amherstburg.

At the session of the legislature of 1812, at Brock's request, militia laws were passed which enabled him to organize the flank companies of the militia, unaccompanied, however, by the desired oath of abjuration so as to exclude settlers from the United States and persons of doubtful loyalty.

Brock, on April 22, wrote Sir Geo. Prevost that he had by partial and gentle means, already commenced to give the new law operation, and he had not the least doubt that a sufficient number would be found ready to volunteer to complete the flank companies. He added:—"I here beg leave to call Your Excellency's attention to the clause which authorizes the training of the flank companies six times in each month; but as no provision is made for remunerating the men, I presume to submit for Your Excellency's indulgent consideration, that the commissaries be instructed to issue rations for the number actually present at exercise. These companies, I expect, will be composed of the best description of inhabitants, who in most cases will have to go a great distance to attend parade; and, unless this liberal provision be allowed, will be liable to heavy expense, or be subject to considerable privations. According to my present arrangements the number embodied will not exceed 700, and when the companies are completed throughout the province, they must be calculated at 1,800; and, as during harvest and the winter months few or no parades will take place, the total expense attending the measure can be of no material consequence in a pecuniary point of view, and may in a political light be productive, at this juncture, of considerable benefit."

These flank companies were the back bone of the Upper Canada militia during the war.

The battalion of incorporated militia, which is spoken of so frequently in histories of the war, and which

lost so heavily at Lundy's Lane, was a Canadian regular regiment recruited in 1813, almost exclusively from among the men of these flank companies. The flank companies were really regarded as the active part or first line of the militia; the bulk of each regiment, formed when an emergency called for its embodiment into companies, called the service companies, being considered as a reserve, only called out when absolutely necessary.

Brock thus practically divided the militia into two distinct classes, first, a voluntarily enrolled, organized, trained, available body—an active force; and, secondly, the rest of the militia liable by law for service, but not embodied or trained. The creation of this distinction, which continues, theoretically, to the present, was in line with the development of the parent service in the Mother Country.

In 1806 a "Training Act" was passed in England, which provided for the raising by ballot of a force of 200,000 men to be trained for a whole year every third year. Any man balloted had the option of serving as an efficient in a volunteer corps. In 1808 a force of "local militia" was established in England and Scotland by Lord Castlereagh in addition to the "general militia" which became a sort of sedentary militia, the "local militia" being organized into regiments, the men, from 18 to 30, serving for four years.

Brock's system of extracting from the Canadian general militia a select or active force by the organization of flank or service companies, was early justified by the excellent work of the militia at the capture of Detroit and the battle of Queenston Heights. The flank companies which took part in the capture of Detroit were probably the first Canadian militia to be fully uniformed, Brock, at the suggestion of Major Evans of the 8th Regiment, having clothed them in the reserve clothing (red coats) of the 41st Regiment.

In 1814 a general order was issued prescribing the uniform of the Canadian Militia to be similar to those of H.M. Army, scarlet with blue facings.

The Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, Official Residence of the Governor during the French Regime. Occupied by the Continentals in 1775, now occupied as a Museum.

July 12, 1812, Major-General Brock wrote to Sir George Prevost, from Fort George, as follows:—

"The militia which assembled here immediately on the account being received of war being declared by the United States, have been improving daily in discipline; but the men evince a degree of impatience under their present restraint that is far from inspiring confidence. So great was the clamour to return and attend to their farms, that I found myself in some measure compelled to sanction the departure of a

large proportion; and I am not without my apprehensions that the remainder will, in defiance of the law, which can only impose a fine of £20, leave the service the moment the harvest commences. There can be no doubt that a large portion of the population in this neighbourhood are sincere in their professions to defend the country; but it appears likewise evident to me that the greater part are either indifferent to what is passing, or so completely American as to rejoice in the prospect of a change of government. Many, who now consider our means inadequate, would readily take an active part were the regular troops increased. These cool calculators are numerous in all societies."

Although the "service companies" of militia did good service whenever urgently required, the efforts of the army officers during the war, as regards the militia, were largely devoted to perfect the incorporated militia of permanently embodied corps, and the various "provincial corps".

The positions of lieutenant-governor and military commander being combined in one man the militia during the war, as regards organization and maintenance, were brought directly under the army authorities. All departmental duties were performed by the regular army. Rations, supplies, arms and equipment were provided from the army stores, and nearly all staff duties in the field were performed by regular officers.

Bounties were given by the army authorities for recruits for the embodied militia. Major-General R. H. Sheaffe, the Major-General commanding in Upper Canada in 1813, on March 15, wrote to Sir George Prevost as follows:—

"The importance of having without delay an efficient force from the militia, and of giving effect, at its first publication, to the new plan adopted for that purpose, struck me so forcibly that I determined to offer in the instructions I had prepared an additional ten dollars to each volunteer for the incorporated militia. I hope the critical situation in which this province is placed will justify me for having adopted the measure without waiting for Your Excellency's answer to my application on the subject." The suggestion was approved of.

The Incorporated Militia, while permanently embodied and paid by the army authorities, was raised under and subject to the militia laws of the province, but several Canadian corps on service during the war, as for instance the Provincial Light Dragoons, the Artillery Drivers, the Canadian Light Dragoons, etc., were regularly enlisted and attested, and were under Martial Law, subject to the rules and regulations of the army and to serve under any officer in His Majesty's service. These were known as "Provincial Corps," in contradistinction to militia.

The Treaty of Ghent, which closed the war, was signed December 24, 1814, and soon after, steps were taken for reducing the Incorporated Militia.

At the session of the legislature of 1815 an act (55 George III. Chap. xiii) was passed "granting to His Majesty a certain sum of money for the uses of the Incorporated Militia of this province and other purposes therein mentioned. £5,883 6s. 8d. to be applied as follows:—

To the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the Incorporated Militia, six months pay £4,594 15s. 2d. To the officers and non-commissioned officers of the line attached to the Incorporated Militia, the net pay of their respective ranks in the said corps £1,000. To the officers and non-commissioned officers and privates of the Incorporated Militia Artillery, six months pay £288 11s. 6d. To the Speaker of the House of Assembly to purchase a sword to be presented to Col. Robinson, late of the Incorporated Militia, 100 guineas."

During the peace which succeeded the battle of Waterloo (1815), the whole English speaking population of the world seemed to be carried away with the idea that the millennium had arrived and that the time had at last come for turning the swords into ploughshares, and the spears into pruning-hooks. At any rate, in the Mother Country, the armed forces of the empire were allowed to fall into neglect, and it is not surprising that in Canada, where there were so many calls upon public attention and national energy, in the development of the young country's virgin resources, that little or no attention was for many years given to the question of the maintenance of the militia.

In 1816 an act (56 George III, Chap. vii) was passed granting 165 pounds additional salary to the Adjutant-General of Upper Canada militia.

At the same session of the assembly an act (56 George III, Chap. xxxi) was passed, entitled "An Act to amend 48 Geo. III, entitled "An Act to explain, amend, and reduce to one Act of Parliament the several laws now in being for the raising and training of the militia of this province."

Section 1 of this Bill provided that only British subjects were compelled to enroll in the militia. Section 2 authorized the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or person administering the government of this province to issue two warrants in favour of the Adjutant-General of militia of this province, and cause him to be paid all such expenses as he shall incur for the postage of letters, stationary and other contingent expenses of his office."

At the session of 1819 an act (59 George III., Chap. xii) was passed, amending 48 George III. This act contained the following provisions:—

"Whereas there is now no provision by law for assembling a Court Martial unless when the militia

of this province shall be called out on actual service, by reason whereof it may happen that persons against whom charges may have been preferred before a Court of Enquiry, may have no opportunity of making their defence against such charges, before a Court competent to receive such evidence upon oath, in their behalf, for remedy whereof be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of the Province of Upper Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, entitled "An act etc., etc.," and by authority of the same that the 25th clause of an act passed in the 48th year * * * * * shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

"In all cases where a General Court Martial shall be prayed for by any officer against whom any charges have been made or may be preferred when any part of the militia may be called out on actual service, the governor or person administering government may direct a General Court Martial to be held, to be assembled in same manner and under same provisions as provided by law in time of actual service. Provided that such General Court Martial in peace time in the event of convictions may inflict such penalty proportioned to the offence as the Court shall judge proper, either by censure or suspension, or depriving him of his commission, and degrading him from his rank, and no other."

In 1829 an important step was taken providing for the division of the militia in peace time into active and reserve forces. The method of accomplishing this is set forth in the following interesting order:—

Militia General Order,

York, Upper Canada, 16th May, 1829,

No. 1. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to direct that in future the several regiments of Militia in this province shall consist of two battalions each, the first battalion to be composed of men not exceeding forty years of age; the second or reserve battalion of such men as may be within the limits of the Corps, from that age to the period established by law.

No. 2. The attendance of the reserve battalion may be dispensed with on next day of assembling.

No. 3. The establishment of the first battalion will be eight companies of light infantry (when they can be formed of thirty men each). These will be divided into a right and left wing.

No. 4. One company in each wing will be armed with rifles.

No. 5. Young men under the age of eighteen enrolled for the militia will not be assembled with the battalion, but commanding officers will make arrangements for their being instructed in small divisions in their own homes.

No. 6. It is recommended that the militia fines, which are placed at the disposal of colonels of regiments for the incidental expenses of the corps may be expended in remunerating one sergeant in each company to be employed in drilling the young men who are not called out with the battalion.

No. 7. Colonels will be responsible that the fines are demanded from every individual who may be absent on the days appointed by law for the assembling of the militia.

Colonel James Fitz Gibbon, whose name had become so conspicuous during the war of 1812, who was gazetted Colonel of the West York Regiment in 1826, and who at this period held a position in the Adjutant-General's office, subsequently becoming Deputy Adjutant-General, under the auspices of Sir John Colborne, formed a drill corps during the year 1835, for such young men of Toronto as desired military instruction. A handful of well-connected young men availed themselves of the opportunity. In 1836 Colonel Fitz Gibbon devoted himself with redoubled ardor to preparations for the insurrection which he declared would break forth before the next winter. He got together a rifle corps to the number of seventy, and drilled them twice a week with tireless enthusiasm, declaring that when the hour of trial should come he and "his boys" would be found in their places, however the rest of the community might see fit to demean themselves. ("Dent's Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion.")

As the time of the actual outbreak approached, the government continued to rest in undisturbed confidence. All through the autumn the Governor and his advisers received regular intelligence of secret drillings, of the manufacture of pikes, and of other seditious proceedings, but all to no purpose. It appeared as though they persisted in regarding all the preparations as being merely for effect and to intimidate the government. The Governor sent all the regular troops to the Lower Province, not even as much as a company being kept as a garrison in Toronto, which was the seat of the provincial government. The last detachment to be sent out of the province to Lower Canada consisted of a subaltern and thirty men, withdrawn from Penetanguishene in November. When this little party was on its way to Toronto, Colonel Fitz Gibbon urged the Lieutenant-Governor to keep them in the city, in order that their presence might have an effect upon the local militia. "No, not a man," answered His Excellency, "The doing so would destroy the whole morale of my policy. If the militia cannot defend the province, the sooner it is lost the better." "Then, sir," entreated the hero of Beaver

Dams and many another hard fight, "let us be armed, and ready to defend ourselves." "No," responded Sir Francis, "I do not apprehend a rebellion in Upper Canada." (Dent.)

The only preparation the Governor had consented to make was to permit of 4,000 stands of arms being brought from Montreal, but even then, he had neglected to have them properly guarded. As a matter of fact, they were handed over to the municipal authorities, who placed them in the old City Hall, with a couple of constables to keep watch over them at night. Fitz Gibbon, who appears to have been the only military official on the alert, was afraid that the rebels would some night overpower the two constables and gain possession of the arms. To guard against such a contingency, he induced his rifle corps, whom he continued to drill with vigilant regularity, to volunteer a nightly guard of fifteen to twenty men to watch the City Hall, and to furnish two sentries to guard the approaches to Government House. The Governor refused, however, to have this arrangement carried out, remarking: "But that I do not like to undo what I have already done, I would have those arms brought from the City Hall and placed here in the Government House, under the care and keeping of my domestics."

This was only a day or two before the Governor and the City of Toronto received that rude midnight awakening to learn that the rebels had fired the first shots of the rebellion at Montgomery's Tavern.

In his despatch, No. 132, dated Toronto, Dec. 19, 1837, Sir F. B. Head wrote:—"I might also have most advantageously availed myself in the field of the military services of Colonel Foster, the commander of the forces in Upper Canada, of Captain Baddeley of the corps of Royal Engineers, and of a detachment of eight artillerymen, who form the only regular force in this province; but having deliberately determined that the important contest in which I was about to be engaged should be decided solely by the Upper Canada militia, or in other words, by the free inhabitants of this noble province, etc."

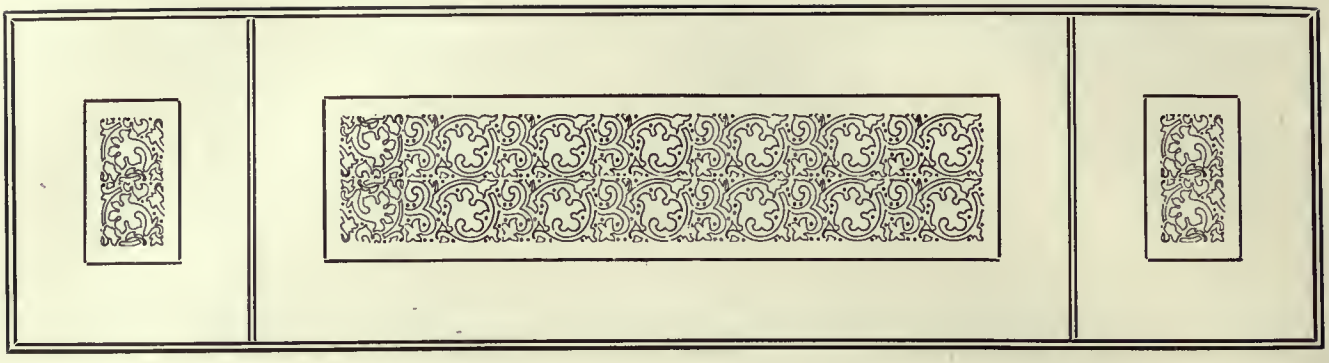
The Governor reported that bands of militiamen from all directions poured in upon him. According to the best reports he could collect, from 10,000 to 12,000 men simultaneously marched towards the capital to support him in maintaining for the people of Upper Canada, the British Constitution. (Despatches in S. F. B. Head's "Narrative.")

After the first alarm the established militia organizations were used to raise an effective force, no less than five battalions of incorporated militia, organized and uniformed like troops of the line, being raised, some of which were not finally disbanded until 1843. Besides there were twelve battalions of provincial militia on duty for various periods, and thirty-one corps of artillery, cavalry and rifles.

According to MacMullin's History, militia lists for Upper Canada at the end of the rebellion showed an establishment of 106 complete regiments. "There were four battalions of incorporated militia, organized and clothed like troops of the line; twelve battalions of provincial militia on duty for a stated period; thirty one corps of artillery, cavalry and riflemen, while most of the militia corps (infantry regiments?) had a troop of cavalry attached to them."

While the excitement produced by the rebellion was still maintained, in 1839, an important Militia Act (2nd Victoria Chapter ix) was passed, which provided for the establishment of mounted corps, artillery, light infantry, rifle and marine corps as separate units, quite distinct from the territorial militia regiments.

The Act of Union passed by the British Parliament in 1840 came into effect by royal proclamation February 10, 1841, and since that date the militia of Upper Canada has formed part of a Canadian national force.



CHAPTER V

THE MILITIA OF LOWER CANADA

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FRENCH MILITIA SYSTEM RETAINED.—THE ROYAL CANADIAN VOLUNTEERS—LOWER CANADIAN MILITIA AND VOLUNTEER CORPS OF 1812-14 AND 1837.—THE MILITIA A BUTT OF POLITICAL DISCORD.

ACCORDING to the Constitutional Act (31 George III, Chap. xxxi) section 31, all laws, statutes and ordinances which were in force on the day fixed for the commencement of the act within the new provinces, or either of them, or in any part thereof, respectively remained and continued to be of the same force, authority and effect in each of the said provinces, as, if the Act in question had not been made, and as if the said Province of Quebec had not been divided, except in so far as the same were expressly repealed or varied by the Act.

In the preceding chapter it has been explained how the first assembly of Upper Canada at its second session passed a Militia Act based upon the English system, completely replacing the old act, based upon the French system, which had existed in the old Province of Quebec But in Lower Canada the old militia system, with a few amendments, was continued, as best suited to the habits of the population and the needs of the province. At the time the Constitutional Act was passed there was much uncertainty as to some of the details of the militia system. There were various overlapping acts and ordinances, some of which had really lapsed naturally, having been merely temporary, but which continued in practice. Again, new acts and ordinances had been enacted regulating certain points, without the legislation they were intended to replace, being specifically repealed. Most details of militia administration were regulated by orders. But the main principles of militia organization were understood. Every male of age was a militiaman, and liable, not alone for military duty, as in Upper Canada, but for the "corvee," or statute labour. Various civil duties, generally cherished as perquisites, fell to the lot of the militia officers.

During the first sitting of the new assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, April 25, 1793, a message was received from the governor informing the house that "the persons exercising the supreme authority in France had declared war against His Majesty." In answering this message the assembly stated that they would immediately proceed to a revision of the militia laws. The subject was taken up and discussed, but as no alterations were made in the militia ordinance then in force, it is to be inferred that such were deemed unnecessary by the assembly.

In his speech dismissing the house at the close of the session, the governor, however, asked the members during recess to reflect upon "such further regulations as may appear necessary for the better organizing and more effectually calling forth the militia."

November 26, 1793, the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, issued a proclamation drawing attention to the fact that alien enemies from France and elsewhere were in the province busying themselves in propagating revolutionary principles, and requiring

"all magistrates, captains of militia, peace officers, and others of His Majesty's good subjects, to be vigilant," etc.

Two acts affecting the militia were passed at the session of the assembly this year. The first, a sort of consolidation of the main militia laws, but introducing no material change, (34 George III, Chap. iv), was entitled:—"An act to provide for the greater security of this province by the better regulation of the militia thereof, and for repealing certain acts or ordinances relating to the same." This act was to be in force until July 1, 1796, "or until the end of the war."

The other act (34 George III, Chap. vi) conferred the power to act as coroners upon militia officers. The full title of this act was : An act for the division of the Province of Lower Canada, for amending the judications thereof, and for repealing certain laws therein mentioned," and section 36 read as follows:— "And whereas the great extent of this province may render it often impracticable for the coroner of the district to give his attendance at the different places where it might be necessary; be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the captains or senior officers of militia shall be, and hereby are empowered, in their respective parishes, when any marks of violence appear on any dead body, to summon together six reputable householders of his parish to inspect the same, and he shall, according to their opinion, report the manner and cause of such death, in writing, to the nearest justice of the peace, that a further examination may be made therein, if necessary."

In 1796, another act (36 George III, Chap. ix) was passed affecting the special civil functions of militia officers. The act was entitled: "An act for making, repairing and altering the highways and bridges within this province, and for other purposes," and sections 26, 28, 29 and 78 read:—"XXVI—And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that the grand voyer or his deputy shall and may divide every parish, seigniory or township of his district into such number of divisions, being not more than nine, as he shall judge proper and necessary, and to each of which divisions there shall be allotted by him an overseer of the highways and bridges, who shall be chosen in manner following, that is to say: the grand voyer or his deputy shall in the month of August next, and in the month of August every second year thereafter issue an order to the eldest captain or senior officer of militia in each parish, seigniory or township, for the purpose of electing overseers of the highways and bridges, who is hereby required upon receipt of such order, to fix and publish or cause to be fixed and published at the church door or place of divine worship of the parish, seigniory or township after morning service, ... a day on which the householders thereof shall meet for the purpose of such election, which day shall be a Sunday or a holy day between the first day of September and the fifteenth day of October, ... at which meeting the said eldest captain or senior officer of militia shall preside, and the same shall be held in the public room of the parsonage house of the parish, seigniory or township, or where there shall be no such public room, then at such other place as shall be appointed by the said captain or senior officer of militia; and then and there the said householders, or the majority of them so assembled, shall choose a fit and proper person from among the householders of the parish, seigniory or township for each of the said divisions thereof . . . to serve the office of overseer of highways and bridges; . . . . and each of which overseers shall enter upon the execution of his office on the first day of January following, and shall serve for two years; and any person so chosen and nominated to serve, who shall refuse or neglect to signify to the said captain or senior officer of militia his consent to enter upon such service, for the space of eight days after such nomination, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds current money of this province for such refusal or neglect, or who consenting to accept such office shall refuse or neglect to obey the lawful orders of the grand voyer or his deputy, or to oversee and perform any of the duties required of him by this Act, shall for every such refusal or neglect, forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings; and it shall be the duty of every officer of militia who shall have presided as aforesaid at any such meeting, openly to declare to the persons so assembled, the names of the parties then and there chosen as overseers, and to make a return of such nomination and choice to the grand voyer or his deputy within ten days after such meeting; and every such officer of militia who shall refuse or neglect to call such meeting or to preside therein, or to make such return, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five pounds for every such refusal or neglect."

XXVIII. Provided also, and be it further enacted, that clergymen, captains of militia, licensed school masters, and one miller to each mill, and persons upward of sixty years of age, shall be exempted from being chosen or appointed surveyors or overseers of highways and bridges,"

"XXIX. And be it further enacted that the officers of militia shall continue to do the duty of overseers until the first day of January next, provided that no officer of militia, who shall have so served as overseer, shall be liable to be rechosen to serve eiter as surveyor or overseer under this act within eight years

from the first day of January next, unless he shall consent thereto."

"LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the deputy of each grand voyer, the surveyors and the overseers of the highways for the time being shall and hereby are exempted from transporting effects belonging to Government, and from being called out to serve in the militia, excepting in the case of invasion of the province, or of insurrection in the county where they are respectively serving the said officers."

The same year an act (36 George III. Chapter xi) was passed continuing 34 George III. Chap. iv.)

In the summer of 1796, Carleton returned to England after completing arrangements for the carrying out of his long cherished scheme of founding a permanently embodied establishment of Canadian troops. The result was the raising of "The Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment."

At this time Napoleon was just attaining the zenith of his power, the interest of the world in 1796 being concentrated upon his brilliant campaign in Italy and the Tyrol. For years, emissaries of the French government had been busy in Canada attempting to stir up the French Canadians against Great Britain, and others at Washington were trying to embroil the United States government with Britain. The Canadians, however, were not to be so easily won from their British allegiance, and gave but a deaf ear to their hindred from across the sea. The clergy, particularly, and the gentry, threw the great weight of their influence in the balance against the foreign agitators, holding up to the Canadian people the horrors of the French Revolution and the failure of the invasion of the province by the American Republicans in 1775-1776 as arguments against any suggestion to unite Canada politically once more with old France.

The Royal Canadian Volunteers consisted of two battalions, the first composed of French Canadians, raised and equipped in Quebec, the second battalion composed largely of English speaking men, and raised and equipped in Montreal. Each battalion consisted of eight companies, including a grenadier and a light infantry company. The strength of each company was seventy men, and there appears to have been no difficulty in securing officers or recruiting the men. The regiment was raised, equipped and administered as a regular regiment, the officers and men being obtained in Canada and their terms of enlisting calling upon them for military service anywhere in the colony. The uniform was of the regular infantry cut, with scarlet coat and blue facings. The men wore grey cloth breeches, the officers white, with long black gaiters buttoned to above the knee. The head dress was a three-cornered hat with black cockade (tassels for the officers) except the grenadier company, the men of which wore the usual tall, conical cap. The men were armed with the old flint lock and bayonet. The regimental motto, duly emblazoned on the colours, was "Try Us." During 1796, 1797 and part of 1798 the 1st battalion was stationed at Quebec, the 2nd battalion at Montreal. The 1st battalion went under canvas for some months during the summer of 1797, and while the headquarters of the 2nd battalion were at Montreal, detachments or perhaps the whole battalion was stationed for periods at Laprairie, St. Johns and Sorel. In the spring of 1798 the battalions exchanged garrisons. In 1799 pressure was brought upon the officers to consent to be placed on the same footing as other fencibles for service abroad, but the proposal did not meet with favour.

However, the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, October 1st, 1801, restored peace, and steps were taken, in time, to disband the various colonial corps. The Royal Canadian Volunteers were disbanded in August and September, 1802. At the time the battalions were read out of the service, the First Battalion had five companies and headquarters in Montreal with detachments therefrom at Three Rivers, Sorel, and St. Johns, and three companies at Quebec. The second battalion upon disbandment had only one company in Lower Canada, the others being distributed throughout Upper Canada as follows: York, 2 companies; Fort George, (Niagara) 3 companies; Kingston, one company; Fort Erie, a half company; Chippewa, a half company. (Surgeon-Major Neilson, R.C.A., in V. R. I. Magazine).

In the Quebec almanac for 1797, the officers of the Royal Canadian Volunteers appear as follows:—

First battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers.

Lieut.-Col. J. De Longueuil; Major Louis De Salaberry.

Captains, Francis Dambourges, Desaulnier, Beaubien, Francis Piedmont, Pierre Marcoux, C. S. De Bleury, Louvigny de Montigny, Francois Vassal, J. Bte. Destimeauville.

Lieutenants, Daniel Dupre, Peter Duchoquet, A. J. Duchesnay, Joseph de Beaujeu, C. S. Lanaudiere, Hipolite Hertelle, Pierre Bazin, Henry Hay, Joseph Bouchette, Benjamin Jobert.

Ensigns, J. B. J. Duchesnay, Ant. Petrimoulx, Louis Montizambert, Honoré Baille, Antoine Lanaudiere, Stephen La Morandiere, Richard Hay, Francois Boucher, Robert Anderson, Francois Duval.

Chaplain, Salter Mountain; Adjutant, Robert Anderson; Quarter-Master, Louis Feromenteau; Surgeon, James Davidson; Mate, J. B. L. Menard.

2nd Battalion Royal Canadian Volunteers.

Lieut.-Col. John M'Donnell, Major Hazelton Spencer.

Captains—Peter Drummond, Hector McLean, Hugh McDonnell, Niel M'Lean, Miles M'Donell, Richard Willkinson, Alexander McMillan.

Lieutenants—Richard Ferguson, Wm. Fraser, Wm. Crawford, Chichester M'Donell, Thomas Fraser, Donald M'Donell, Wm. Johnson, Angus M'Donell, —Taschereau, Pierre Ignace Major.

Ensigns—Pierre Boucherville, Wm. Deace, Peter Grant, George Ermatinger, Charles Lanniere, Joseph Boardwine, Robert Wolsey.

Chaplain—Father Duval; Adjutant—John Crompton; Quarter-Master—Andrew Cameron; Surgeon—James Davidson; Mate—Cyrus Anderson.

It will be remarked that while there are but three names which are not distinctively French Canadian, among those of the officers of the 1st Battallion, that there were five French Canadian officers in the second battalion. While the 1st Battalion had 34 officers, the second, of the same nominal establishment, had 31. Evidently, the military spirit was, at least, as strong among the French Canadians as among their neighbors of British origin.

The peace of Amiens did not last very long, and few expected it would, apparently. The great Napoleon had not attained the summit of his ambition in 1801, and until he had, there was to be no lasting peace, at least so long as he held the supreme power in France.

Within a few months of the signing of the treaty, the British government and Napoleon were embroiled in dispute as to the execution of the terms of the treaty, England refusing to evacuate Malta, the Cape of Good Hope and Alexandria so long as Napoleon failed to restore his continental conquests to the powers concerned and continued to increase his armaments at strategical points threatening Great Britain. Napoleon was then Vice Consul, and French royalists who had taken refuge in the Channel Islands and London, in the public press and pamphlets, were engaged in sarcastic and bitter attacks on him and his government. The French papers retorted and attacked England, and the English papers retaliated. Napoleon demanded that the British government muzzle the press and banish the French royalists refugees to Canada. The British government, of course, explained that it could not interfere with those very British institutions, the liberty of the press and the right of refuge. After menaces had been made on both sides, the British government in March, 1803, ordered 10,000 additional men enrolled for the navy, and the British Militia was called out. Napoleon ordered large additions of troops to the camps which had been forming at the ports along the English Channel. Finally, April 29, 1803, England declared war on Napoleon.

Both Britain and France entered into the contest with zest, each nation being aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, the English people being spurred to make great exertions by Napoleon's taunt that England would not and could not stand alone against France. As to the progress of the several campaigns which followed, of Napoleon's triumphal campaigns of Jena, Auerbad, Eylau, Spain, etc., and of the British victories at sea first and afterwards in the Peninsula, the Pyrenees and the South of France, it is necessary to refer here; but the student of Canadian history has to have some knowledge of the war in Europe to appreciate the events preceding and during the war of 1812–14.

The authorities of Lower Canada were at this important juncture anxious to do more to bring the national defensive force into line with military requirements and more in touch with the population.

Lieut.-Governor Robert Shore Milnes in a letter to the Minister on the real situation in Canada, November 1st, 1800, speaking of the social conditions prevailing, remarked "The counties are divided into parishes, the principal person in each of which is the priest, and the next the Captain of Militia." He went on to show that the influence of the government might be extended by the co-operation of the clergy, and next through the militia. The bishop and priests, he pointed out, could be depended upon to use their influence "to encourage a spirit of loyalty in opposition to the spirit of democracy, which has fortunately not made much progress in Canada." The Governor proceeded:—"The population is computed to be about 160,000, nine-tenths of whom reside in the parishes, the militia 37,904, with 292 captains and 16 of a staff, the latter chiefly seigneurs. The powers of the Captains under the French rule were great, the feeling of which remains, though the power is withdrawn. But they are still employed in performing services for the Government, for which the only remuneration is the sense of the honour of being so employed, but this is by no means equivalent to the expenditure of the time and trouble." The Governor proceeded to suggest that by some honorary and pecuniary reward, or by some other plan, the militia officers might be brought to consider themselves as, and to be actually made, officers of the Crown. In this way a spirit of loyalty would be diffused through the whole province, "a spirit which is natural to the Canadians." His Honor was pleased to add—"I would like to call attention to the relative expenditure for civil and military purposes, the latter out of proportion to the latter, whilst, by a proper system, not only would the military expenses be greatly lessened, and the country secured from internal commotion, but the co-operation of the

inhabitants could be secured for the defence of the country." (Dom. Archives.)

During 1802, as a result of the warlike outlook in Europe, there was a mild outbreak of military excitement in Montreal, and the local militia voluntarily assembled for drill, muskets being lent them for the purpose from the regular army stores. Governor Milnes, on November 29th, 1802, made a requisition upon Lieut.-General Hunter, the commander-in-chief, in the following terms:—"The officers of the British and Canadian militia at Montreal having represented to me that at the time Your Excellency was so good as to order muskets to be delivered to them for the purpose of enabling the militia of Montreal to practise the use of firearms, they omitted to ask also for belts and pouches which are essentially necessary to their attaining any degree of perfection in their exercise; I shall be much obliged to Your Excellency to give directions for belts and pouches being delivered to them in proportion to the number of muskets, as I have the satisfaction to find they mean to continue practicing during the ensuing winter, and their example may be of considerable service in the province."

At the first session of the parliament of Lower Canada in the year 1803, the militia laws were renewed, on the advice of the governor, by a new act (43 George III, Chap. i). The second session took place in August on the resumption of hostilities between Great Britain and France. The Alien Act, and that for the preservation of His Majesty's government had been allowed to expire at the time of the peace, but the return of war rendered their revival necessary, and they were revived. Upon the recurrence of war, there was a strong manifestation of loyal feeling universally throughout the province. The lieutenant-governor sent down, late in the session, a message to the assembly stating that he had "the satisfaction to acquaint them that a considerable number of His Majesty's subjects in this province, actuated by a spirit of loyalty and zeal for the interests and honour of his crown, had offered to form themselves into volunteer companies for the defence of the province at the present moment, and to serve under such officers as His Majesty's representative should appoint to command them." He recommended the subject accordingly to the consideration of the House.

A bill was introduced, passed, and sent up to the Legislative Council relative to it, but too late, the prorogation taking place the next day. No inconvenience, however, was felt from the circumstance, the Militia Act of the earlier session being in force, and sufficient for every practical purpose at the time.

The act in question authorized the governor to spend 2,500 pounds sterling annually, as he should judge expedient, towards the formation of an efficient militia. He was authorized to embody annually, for 28 days annual drill, a force of 1,200 men. The act was limited to four years' duration. It provided for pensions for disabled militiamen.

Governor Milnes lost no time proceeding to put the new Militia Act into effect, and the requisition he made on Lieut.-General Hunter for arms and equipment gives us at once an idea of the scope of the bill and of the absolute dependance of the militia of those days on the regular army for equipment. In this document, which is dated Quebec, 28th April, 1803, the governor wrote:—

"In consequence of new regulations which have passed the legislature respecting the militia in this province, a power is vested in the Executive Government to embody for twenty-eight days annually twelve hundred men. I have, therefore, to request Your Excellency will give the necessary orders to forward a measure so important to His Majesty's service, that six hundred stand of arms may be delivered upon my requisition, which, whenever this measure shall be adopted, will, with the six hundred you have already had the goodness to order to be at my disposal at Montreal, complete the complement.

"It is probably known to you, that Lord Dorchester, in the year 1796, received from England clothing and accoutrements for the number of men now fixed by the legislature to be called out. I have the honour to inclose a statement of the articles intended for the use of the militia, and which, being in the military store, I shall further request Your Excellency to give directions that these, or any part of them, may be delivered to me when required."

The return mentioned in the preceding included, among other details, the following:—

Privates.—Cloth, brown, 4,179½ yards; mixt, 1,910¾; yellow, 152¼. Hats and cockades, 1,100.

Sergeants.—Cloth, brown, 104¾ yards; mixt, 57½ yards; yellow, 18¼ yards. Hats and cockades, 80.

Drummers.—Cloth, yellow, 40¼ yards. Hats, 16.

Besides, there were buttons by hundreds of gross, braids, looping, sixty pounds of thread, two thousand needles, a hundred and twenty tailors' thimbles, forty epaulets, linen, linings, etc., etc.

The following extract from a letter by Governor Robt. S. Milnes to His Excellency Lieut.-General Hunter, Quebec, Nov. 11, 1803, is interesting in the same connection:—

"I have the honor to enclose Your Excellency an extract of a dispatch which I have this day received from Lord Hobart, authorizing me to 'receive from His Majesty's magazines at Quebec such arms as may be necessary for the use of the militia,' and I

shall be obliged to Your Excellency to receive the amount of 1,200 stand of arms with proportionate accoutrements, at such times and in such proportions as may be requisite for this branch of His Majesty's service."

This letter received a reply from Lt.-General Hunter, dated York, December 9, 1803, reading in part as follows:—

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excelleney's letter of the 11th November, with an extract from Lord Hobart's letter to you of the 9th September, authorizing you to receive from His Majesty's magazine at Quebec such arms as may be necessary for the use of the militia, and requesting to the amount of twelve hundred stand of arms, with proportionate accoutrements, at such times, and in such proportions as may be requisite for this branch of His Majesty's service.

"I have by this opportunity given Colonel Mann the necessary directions to order the ordinance storekeepers to issue to such persons as Your Excelleney may authorize to receive them to the amount of six hundred stand of arms, which, with the six hundred stand of arms formerly issued to you for this service, make up the number required."

March 29th, 1804, Major-General Mann, in command at Quebec, wrote Lieut.-Col. Green, military secretary, as follows:—

"Lieut.-Governor Milnes has acquainted me with his intention of giving a proportion of arms to the militia of the City of Quebec only, to the amount of two hundred stand for the Canadian and one hundred stand for the British Militia, who have been training as far as they could do without arms all the winter. The arms are to be deposited at the Chateau, and delivered out only at such times as they may be wanted for exercise. I shall accordingly, when required by Sir Robert Milnes, order the issue of the above quantity of arms, conformably to Lieut.-General Hunter's orders signified in your letter to me of the 8th December last."

His Majesty, King Edward VII, presenting His Colours to the Strathcona Horse on their return to London after the South African Campaign.

Some trouble appears to have arisen as to the further issue and also the care of these arms, and July 25, 1805, we find Lieut.-Governor Sir Robert Shore Milnes writing to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"I have had the honor of receiving Your Excelleney's letter of the 24th inst., respecting the arms issued from the ordinance stores by Your Excelleney's order in consequence of Lord Hobart's despatch to me, dated 9th of September, 1803, by which I was authorized to

receive from His Majesty's magazines at Quebec such arms as may be necessary for the use of the militia of this province.

"I shall take the earliest occasion to lay before His Majesty's Secretary of State the subject matter of your letter, in the expectation that His Lordship will send out to the person administering the government during my absence such further instructions with respect to the arms in question as he may judge proper, till when I shall consider myself as responsible for the safety of those arms to His Majesty's minister only.

"In consequence of the information Your Excellency has honored me with, respecting a musket with the Tower mark, which was exposed for sale at McCary's, the auctioneer, on the 20th of this month, I shall take every possible step to ascertain whether or not it belongs to the present militia; but I am inclined to think it may possibly be one of those muskets that were placed in the hands of the militia by Lord Dorchester in the year 1787, and were never afterwards withdrawn, and which from the lapse of time, it is not improbable, may, in this instance, have been erroneously considered as private property." (Dominion Archives.)

May 22, 1806, we find the following request addressed by the Hon. Thomas Dunn to Colonel Barnes, commanding His Majesty's forces:—

"I have to request you will be so good as give directions that forty-six carbines, complete, may be delivered from the ordinance stores to the order of Colonel Hale for the use of his battalion of militia, for which an equal number of muskets complete will be given up in exchange."

The 27th of the same month the following requisition was made:—

"I have to request that you will give directions that two field pieces (six pounders) complete may be delivered to the order of Lieut.-Colonel Panet for the use of the battalion of Quebec militia under his command."

During the year 1807, Mr. James Cuthbert, Seigneur of Berthier, son of the first Seigneur of the name, who was a retired army officer, organized the pioneer volunteer corps in the country districts. The following letter from Colonel Brock, then in command at Quebec, to Mr. Cuthbert shows the importance attached by the authorities to the organization of the Berthier company:—

"Quebec, October 12, 1807.

"You may well suppose that the principal subject of conversation at headquarters is the military state of this country. I have been careful, in justice to you, to mention to Sir James Craig the public spirit you have manifested in forming a company from among the inhabitants of your seigneurie without the least pecuniary aid, or any other assistance from government.

"His Excellency is exceedingly pleased to find a principle in some measure established by your individual exertions, the basis of which he means to pursue in forming an extensive, and, he trusts, an efficient system of defence; and he requests you to state the nature of the engagements under which the men assemble for exercise, and the degree of service they are under promise to perform.

"You must be aware that in any future general arrangement it will become an essential object with government to secure a more substantial hold on the services of the men than their mere promise; and as it is intended to give every possible latitude to their prejudices, and to study in everything their convenience, it is thought no regulation to that effect can operate to diminish the number of voluntary offers.

"As you have been the first to set such a laudable example, Sir James thinks it but just that Berthier should take the lead in any new project he may adopt, and he desires me to ask your opinion in regard to the following points:—

"Government will undertake either to provide or give an allowance for clothing.

"Arms and accoutrements must, for obvious reasons, be provided as far as practicable by the individuals themselves.

"One shilling will be allowed every time the volunteer assembles for exercise, not to exceed thirty days during the year.

"The men to be bound to attend drill whenever ordered, and to be in constant readiness to march to any part of the province in case of emergency, at the discretion of the governor-general. From the time they receive the order to march, to be placed precisely upon the same footing with His Majesty's regular troops in regard to pay and allowance.

"Such are the chief conditions which I understood Sir James to say he wished might be adopted. He, however, will be always ready to attend to any suggestion that tends to improve, and give spirit to, the object in view.

"A proportionate number of non-commissioned officers will unquestionably be allowed.

"I can say nothing in regard to the officers—they, of course, will not be forgotten in the arrangement, but they cannot expect to be exalted to such a height as to interfere with the just pretensions of the regulars.

"Being in some measure pledged for the success of the experiment, I shall be under considerable anxiety until I hear your sentiments.

"Every consideration of policy ought to make the proposal to appear to come from yourself; therefore,

when you consult those around you, it will be unnecessary to state your having received a communication on the subject."

Mr. Cuthbert wrote in reply, and Brock, on Dec. 13, wrote again, forwarding a copy of a note received from Sir James Craig, to whom he had submitted Cuthbert's letter. This note was to the effect that some legal difficulties had arisen over the carrying out of Cuthbert's project, but which he trusted would be got over immediately. Arms, such accoutrements as were in store, and a supply of ammunition were in readiness, and His Excellency promised should be forwarded "as soon as the business is brought to a conclusion."

Apparently the legal difficulties proved insurmountable, for on July 7, 1808, Brock wrote to Cuthbert that the general had very substantial reasons for objecting to any issue of arms at that time. He added:—"Were your corps the sole consideration, be satisfied he would not hesitate a moment; but he cannot show you such marked preference without exciting a degree of jealousy and outcry which might occasion unpleasant discussions."

As the war between Britain and France developed, and with it the ambition of the ruling faction in the United States to secure possession of Canada, the war party in the republic industriously circulated the report that the Canadians only awaited the unfurling of the stars and stripes in Canada to rise in a body against British rule. In refutation of this libel on the loyalty of the French Canadians, the acting governor (President of the Council), Mr. Dunn, made arrangements for a grand military demonstration to be made during the summer of 1808. One fifth of the militia of the province were called out for training. The ballotting for men was carried out with the greatest spirit, giving the lie to the doubts which had been cast upon the loyalty of the people. At the ballotting, young bachelors competed with one another to procure the service tickets of married men who drew them. Some men, who were not drawn, purchased tickets from others who were, but not a few married men refused to sell out. After the men required had been selected by ballot, and everything prepared for their mobilization, Sir James Craig, the new governor, arrived at Quebec, and he thought it best not to proceed any further. Consequently an order was issued excusing the drafted force from service, but in a general order issued November 24, 1808, the governor lauded the Canadians for the loyal and heroic spirit they had manifested.

In 1809, Sir James Craig, then governor, and who had commanded Carleton's advance guard at the expulsion of the Continental troops in 1776, dismissed from the Quebec militia five officers, on the ground that the step was necessary for His Majesty's service. The cause assigned for this action was that the governor could place no confidence in the services of persons whom he had good grounds to consider to be proprietors of a seditious and libellous publication (Le Canadien). They were Col. Panet, Capts. Bédard and Taschereau, Lieut. Borgia and Surgeon Blanchet.

In 1808 a new Militia Act (48 George III, Chap. i), was passed, entitled:—"An act to explain, amend and reduce to one act of parliament the several laws now in being for the raising and training of the militia of the province."

The session of parliament of Lower Canada in 1812 opened on the 21st of February and passed a bill (52 George III, Chap. ii) authorizing the governor, Sir George Prevost, to embody 2000 young unmarried men for three months in the year, who, in case of invasion, were to be retained in service for a whole year, when half of the embodied would be relieved by fresh drafts. In the event of imminent danger, he was empowered to embody the entire militia force of the province, but no militiaman was to be drafted into the regular forces. For drilling, training and other purposes of the militia service, £12,000 was voted, and a further sum of £30,000 was placed at the disposal of the governor, to be used in the event of a war arising between Great Britain and the United States.

Sir George Prevost, who had shortly before arrived to succeed Craig, had reported to the Home Government that he proposed to carry out a levy of the militia for drill and for the purpose of executing some necessary military works; but the suggestion was overruled by the British Government who, at this period, still persisted in exercising direct control over military matters in the colonies. This point is clearly exposed in a letter addressed to Sir George Prevost, on this particular occasion, and preserved in the Dominion Archives. It reads as follows:—

"Horse Guards, 30th May, 1812.

"Lieut.-General

Sir George Prevost, Bart,

&c., &c., &c.,

"Sir,—Having had the honour to receive and lay before the Commander-in-Chief your letter of the 4th of March, I am commanded to acquaint you, that upon the receipt of your original dispatch on the same subject, dated the 4th of December last, a reference was made to His Majesty's Government as to the expediency of carrying the levy therein proposed into effect, and it is only lately that an answer was received, intimating the view which had been taken of the inexpediency of this measure, as communicated to you in the Secretary of State's dispatch of the 31st of March.

"I am also to observe, that His Royal Highness is of opinion that no arrangements of this kind should be put in a course of execution, without a previous authority; and that it is usual for the Commander-in-Chief to communicate with the Government upon all military formations whatever. His Royal Highness is, however, fully sensible of the very zealous and proper motives by which you were actuated upon this occasion.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

J. P. TORRENS."

But this letter fortunately reached Canada too late, for May 28, 1812, 21 days before the United States Congress passed the bill empowering the President to declare war against Great Britain, Sir George Prevost raised four battalions of embodied militia in Lower Canada; and a regiment of "voltigeurs," a sort of "corps d'élite," was raised, the latter being placed under the command of Major de Salaberry.

Companies of "voltigeurs" were first raised in the French army during the rule of the Great Napoleon, the idea being to secure the services of men of the smallest stature in the army. The decree of March 3, 1804, provided for the raising of a company of voltigeurs as a "Compagnie d'élite", for each battalion of light infantry, and a decree dated Sept. 21, of the same year, introduced voltigeurs into the infantry of the line, one company for each battalion. These men were intended to be transported about the theatre of operations, rapidly, being intended to accompany mounted forces in swift attacks, etc., the voltigeurs being exercised at riding on the pommels of the cavalrymen's saddles. The maximum standard of height for the French voltigeurs was four feet eleven inches, and the smaller they were the better. They were armed with light guns, and at first with sabres, but a decree of October 7th, 1807, provided for the retirement of the latter arm. The voltigeurs, unlike other French troops at that time, had no drums, their instrument of music being a "cornet," a sort of small hunting horn which was later replaced by an instrument much resembling the modern trumpet.

The voltigeurs made such an impression by their useful services that two regiments of conscripts raised as chasseurs to form part of the Young Guard, petitioned in 1810 to be allowed the designation of voltigeurs. Under the second empire the voltigeurs were accorded the same pay as grenadiers, and shared with that branch of the service the charge of the colours. The voltigeur companies occupied the left of each battalion. Besides the company of voltigeurs, which existed in each battalion of infantry of the line, there were in the Guard four regiments of voltigeurs.

The Canadian Voltigeurs, who were light infantry or riflemen, were raised without any delay, in fact the strength being reported complete in forty-eight hours. This historical regiment was composed exclusively of French Canadians. It was to de Salaberry and the voltigeurs that the French Canadians owe the proudest laurels of the chaplet of glory they so gallantly earned during this war.

The "Canadian Fencible Infantry Regiment" (10 companies), already serving in the province and carried on the establishment of the regular army, was largely recruited among the French Canadians, its officers being taken almost exclusively from the regular army.

The complete list of officers of the Canadian Fencible Infantry in 1812 was as follows:—

Colonel—Major-General Thomas Peter (1); Lieut-Col.,—Major-General David Shank, George Robertson; Major—Francis Cockburn (1). Captains—James Eccles (2), William De Haren, Thomas Hay (2), Edward Cartwright (2), Dugald Campbell, George R. Ferguson (2), Ewan McMillan, Alex. McQueen, James Pentz. Lieutenants—John Reid (2), William Marshall, Ronald M'Donell, Wm. Radenhurst, Henry Weatherston, John Johnston, Daniel Dupre (2), Archid. K. Johnson, Alexander Grant, R. M. Cochrane, Edward Dewar (staff). Ensigns—Alex. McMillan, Charles Pinguet, Thomas F. Gunter, Benjamin Delisle, Ulysses Fitzmorris. Paymaster—Lieut. Wm. Marshall; Adjutant—Lieut. R. M. Cochrane; Quartermaster—Alex. Fraser; Surgeon—Michael Mabey; Asst.-Surgeon—Alex. Cunningham.

The list of officers published in 1813 showed a few changes. Captain De Haren had been promoted major, and Lieut. Patrick Nowlan had been brought in to replace Lieutenant Cochrane, detailed to other duty, as Adjutant. The company officers in (1813) stood as follows:—

Captains—Thomas Hay (2), Edward Cartwright (2), George R. Ferguson (2), Alex. McQueen, James Pentz, John Hall, G. S. Peach, W. H. Hailes, Wm. Marshall, Josias Taylor.

Lieutenant—Wm. Radenhurst, Henry Weatherston, John Johnston, Alex. Grant, Chas. Pinguet, Noah Freer, Benjamin Delisle, Ulysses Fitzmorris, Pierre Gamelin.

Ensigns—G. De Hertel, B. Gugy, E. W. Antrobus, G. C. Peach, Walter Davidson, Louis Dufresne, Robert Tagart, Wm. Taylor.

During the years immediately preceding the war much progress had been made in the organization of the militia, and by the year 1812 the militia force of Lower Canada had undergone considerable change and had developed greatly. At its head was the following imposing staff:

(1) Absent. (2) Temporary Rank

Adjutant-General—Lt.-Col. François Vassal de Monviel.

Deputy Adj.-General—Lt.-Col. Xav. de Lanaudiere.

Assistant Adj.-General—Major Charles Fremont.

Orderly Clerk to the Adj.-General—Charles Simon Turcot, Orderly Sergeant.

Adjutant of Provincial Militia—Lt.-Col. A. L. Juchereau Duchesnay.

Provincial Aides-de-Camp—Lieut.-Col. P. de Boucherville, Lieut.-Col. M. H. Percival.

Adjutants for the Town of Quebec—Capt. J. Bte. Destimauville, Capt. Louis de Montizambert, Lieut. Joseph Cary.

Adjutants for the Town of Montreal—Capt. R. Griffin, 1st Bat.; Capt. J. G. Delisle, 2nd Bat.; Lieut. Ls. Charland, 3rd Bat.

Adjutant for the four divisions south of the St. Lawrence, District of Montreal—Capt. L. R. C. Delery.

Adjutant for the District of Trois Rivieres—Capt. F. Boucher, for the north, Lieut. M. J. de Tonnancourt, for the south.

Adjutants for the Eastern Townships—Captain Jacob Glen, Captain Philip Byrne.

Adjutant for the Chambly Division de—Captain D. Lukin.

Adjutant for the Gaspe District—Lieut. H. O'Hara.

The district of Quebec comprised 8 regimental divisions, that of Montreal, 13; Three Rivers, 2; Eastern Townships, 6; Gaspe, 1.

As soon as war was declared the regular troops were moved to Montreal, and Quebec was garrisoned by the militia. At Montreal, the militia also turned out for garrison duty. On the 6th of August the whole militia were commanded to hold themselves in readiness for embodiment. A military epidemic seized young and old; but there was an exception to the rule of martial enthusiasm. In the Parish of Pointe Claire, on Lake St. Louis, some young men, who had been drafted into the embodied militia, refused to join their battalions. Of these, four were apprehended; but one was rescued, and it was determined by his neighbours to organize a party to liberate such others of their friends as had already joined the depot of the embodied militia of the district at Laprairie. Accordingly, on the following day, some three or four hundred persons assembled at Lachine for this purpose; but it soon appeared that the trouble was due to a misunderstanding. The habitants refused to believe the assurances of the magistrates that the militia law was simply being enforced. They shouted "Vive le Roi" and announced their readiness to serve in the field provided they were regularly called out by the governor, but held that the embodiment had been done without authority. As the rioters refused to budge, two pieces of artillery and a company of the 49th Regiment, which had arrived from Montreal, confronted the crowd. The Riot Act, after great provocation, was read, and after the troops and rioters had fired several volleys over each others' heads, the soldiers were ordered to shoot into the mob, and one man was killed and another dangerously wounded. The mutineers then dispersed, leaving some of the most daring among them to keep up a straggling fire from the bushes. The military made thirteen prisoners, and as night was setting in, left for Montreal. Next day, four hundred and fifty of the Montreal Militia marched to Pointe Claire, and from thence to St. Laurent, where they captured twenty-four of the mutineers and took them to Montreal. But the Pointe Claire habitants bitterly repented the resistance which they had made to the militia law, and many of them craved forgiveness, which was readily given.

One of the first measures decided upon by Congress was the capture of Montreal. Strategy proper, and political strategy alike justified the attempt, and a powerful and well equipped army of 10,000 men was concentrated around Champlain, N.Y., and placed under the command of General Dearborn. De Salaberry was entrusted with the command of a line of outposts established along this side of the line. An advance base was established at Lacadie. The force at this point consisted of the flank companies of the 8th, 100th, and 103rd Regiments of Foot, the Canadian Fencibles, the flank companies of the embodied militia, and a six-gun battery of artillery.

During the night of November 20th, a column of some 1,200 Americans made a reconnaissance in force into Canadian territory, and came to grief at Lacolle, where they found their progress opposed by a picquet of some 500 militia and Indians. Through their faulty dispositions for the attack, the invaders fired into their own men, the result being an immediate retreat.

The provincial militia organization during the war included a recognized establishment of volunteers, several companies in Quebec and four in Montreal, the latter attached to the First Battalion of Montreal militia. The officers of the volunteer companies, which were organized "to perform garrison duties voluntarily, or to take the field if necessary," were regularly gazetted, and the companies in Montreal were brigaded, with a commandant and adjutant of their own, but they were attached to their territorial militia regiments.

The battalions of embodied militia raised at various times in the province during the war were recruited by districts, under militia officers, but equipped from the magazines of the regular army, and subsisted from the regular commissariat. Minor details of organization

were referred to the regular staff in the province. These battalions were of considerable strength and well equipped. From requisitions, parade states, etc., in the Dominion Archives, it appears, for instance, that the 3rd battalion of embodied militia, Lieut.-Col. James Cuthbert, raised in the Three Rivers district, consisted of 880 rank and file. The uniform consisted of green jackets, blue trousers, caps (decorated with feathers, rosettes and bugle badges), and moccasins. The sergeants carried pikes and wore sashes like those of regular regiments.

Occasionally the embodied militia were hard put to it for uniform. Lieut.-Colonel Voyer, commanding the 4th battalion "Select and Embodied Militia," writing from his regimental headquarters at Chateauguay to the military secretary of His Excellency, September 26, 1814, complained that upwards of 500 men of his battalion had not been supplied with any clothing or shoes since June, 1813, and a great many of the men had no other but linen trousers.

Several levies of the sedentary militia were made, not merely in cases of invasion, but to carry out military works at Isle aux Noix and other points along the exposed frontier. August 16, 1813, Major-General Sheaffe was informed from headquarters that no more corvée or levying of the militia for manual labour alone was to be required.

The Lower Canadian militia, and more particularly "provincial corps", raised in the Lower Province, took a much more important part than they usually get credit for in the campaigns in Upper Canada. The organized Corps of Voyageurs was not sufficiently numerous to do all of the water transportation work between Montreal and Kingston, and parties of men were drafted from the various battalions of embodied militia to do this work. And these parties frequently took part in the skirmishing which took place along the line of communications between the head of Lake St. Francis and Kingston. Detachments of the Voltigeurs were present at the battle of Chrysler's Farm, and rendered valuable service.

Two provincial corps were raised in Montreal early in 1813, "His Majesty's Canadian Light Dragoons," Captain Thomas Coleman commanding, and a provincial field artillery corps, Captain John S. Sinclair commanding. These corps went through the very thick of the fighting in the Upper Province, but writers generally have lost sight of their identity, confusing them with the regular and Upper Canadian corps.

Documents in the Dominion Archives give particulars of the raising and services of these corps.

December 22nd, 1812, Captain Noah Freer, military secretary to the governor, wrote to General de Rottenburg at Montreal that the officer commanding the Royal Artillery desired the formation in the Montreal district of a corps of drivers for the artillery, more efficient than the existing establishment.

In those days the drivers of the field guns, with their horses, formed a corps distinct from the artillery. Now, they form part of the artillery corps as much as do the gunners.

General de Rottenburg, December 26th, 1812, replied to the letter, mentioning that it was his decided opinion that the most eligible mode to raise the corps "will be to recruit the men amongst the Canadians, for the space of eighteen months, or during the war with the United States, and to grant them a bounty of five pounds currency, which should cover the reward given to the bringer, and supply them with certain articles of necessaries.

"About eighty would be wanted, and I should think that men of the description required might be readily got, from the general predilection that the Canadians have to be about horses; and another strong inducement will be the superior rate of pay of the corps.

"Should, on trial, the recruiting fail, the expedient of taking, from the sedentary militia, eligible men and such as should prefer to join one of the incorporated battalions, may be resorted to.

"As for procuring volunteers from the embodied militia, as stated in your letter to complete the number of gunner drivers, appears to me to militate against the Law, Vide 52, George 3rd, Section 60, where it is said:—

"Every militiaman ordered out or ballotted, who, being in actual service, shall enroll himself in a corps of troops or embodied militia, shall be confined in prison, without bail, during a space of time not exceeding one month, and his enlistment shall be null, &c."

Captain Sinclair reported his corps as raised to the full strength March 30th, and soon after, it was sent to the front. Captain Sinclair, in the correspondence, sometimes calls the corps "The Royal Montreal Drivers," and at others "The Troop Provincial R. C. Artillery Drivers." Gunners appear to have been included in the establishment, for September 13, 1813, Sinclair wrote Captain Freer, the military secretary, Quebec, as follows:—

"I enclose for the authority of His Excellency a request for clothing for 22 additional gunners who are entering on their second year of service, 12 of them are now at Kingston. May I trouble you to present it."

Captain Thomas Coleman raised his troop, "H.M. Canadian Light Dragoons," in Montreal about the same time. April 15, 1813, the strength of the troop was 1 captain, (Coleman); 1 lieutenant, (Benjamin Holmes); 1 cornet, (Pierre Lefevre); 2 sergeants, 4

corporals, 2 trumpeters, 43 privates and 51 horses. The strength appears to have been increased considerably before being despatched to Upper Canada. Captain Coleman having asked Sir George Prevost to advise a uniform, he recommended the following:—blue jacket with red cuffs and collar, white buttons; felt helmet with bearskin trimming; grey overalls strapped with leather; Canadian beef half-boots, to lace in front.

The troop not merely served on the lines of communication between Montreal and the Niagara frontier, but participated in some of the hardest fighting and other military operations, including Proctor's movements, the affairs at Forty-Mile Creek, Beaver Dams, St. Davids, the Cross Roads, Sandwich, etc. The troop baggage upon one occasion was lost, and several of the troop were taken by the enemy and held prisoners for a considerable time.

January 22, Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond at Kingston recommended the augmentation of Captain Coleman's troop by a cornet and ten men, adding that from the report of Major-General Vincent and other officers at the front he was perfectly satisfied of the utility of the corps' services.

Captain Coleman, in an official report of March 27, 1815, remarked of his men, "They have conducted themselves generally in a soldierlike manner, and I have never had to use corporal punishment. The troop was disbanded at Montreal May, 12, 1815, the officers and men receiving pay up to the 24th.

One of the most important permanent organizations of the war carried upon the militia establishment of Lower Canada was the Corps of Voyageurs, a corps of Canadian boatmen for the transportation of troops and supplies up and down the St. Lawrence, particularly between Montreal and Kingston.

The officers of this corps, many of them North-West traders, were in 1813 as follows:—

Wm. McGillivray, Lieut.-Col. Commandant; Angus Shaw, 1st Major; Archibald N. McLeod, 2nd Major.

Captains—Alexander McKenzie, William McKay, John McDonell, Pierre de Rocheblave, James Hughes, Kenneth McKenzie.

Lieutenants—James Goddard, Joseph McGillivray, Joseph McKenzie, William Hall, Peter Grant.

Ensigns—Pierre Perras, James Maxwell, John McGillivray, André Baron, Louis Joseph Gauthier, Pierre Rototte, fils. Aeneas Cameron, Paymaster; Cartwright, Adjutant; James Campbell, Quartermaster, Henry Monro, Surgeon.

During this campaign, steamboats were used for the transportation of troops and military stores between Quebec and Montreal, among the vessels so employed being the "Accomodation," the pioneer St. Lawrence steamer, which was launched at Montreal in 1809, by Mr. John Molson. Was this the first occasion on which steam power was put to use in military operations?

There was considerable legislation affecting the militia during the war. By the preamble of 52 George III, Chap. 2, it appeared that that act was only to apply to the then present year. The act, 53 George III, Chap. 2, made an appropriation for certain expenses of the embodied militia during the war. The act, 55 George III, Chap. 1 (May 8, 1815), revived and amended 43 George III, Chap. 1 and 52 George III, Chap. 1, and continued them as amended until May 1, 1816, and to the end of the war. An act (55 George III, Chap. 10, made permanent the 31st section of 43 George III, Chap. 1, granting pensions to certain classes of wounded Militiamen, and to the widows of those killed on service.

After the conclusion of peace, with the exception of a volunteer troop of cavalry or a company of rifles here and there, not amounting in both provinces to 300 or 400 men, there was no armed force in the country exclusive of the regulars. The few isolated cavalry and rifle corps were of an independent character, officers and men uniforming and maintaining the corps at their own expense, and even purchasing the arms privately. Of course they received no pay or allowances, and were not subjected to any systematic oversight.

The members of the legislature of Lower Canada found something else to interest them besides military matters—The country—and this is equally true of both provinces of Canada—was about entering upon the hardest and most bitter phase of the long struggle between the popular representatives and the bureaucracy, for responsible government. Issues affecting finances, administration, representation and the constitution itself were of paramount importance. The militia languished, and practically ceased to exist except upon paper. The long lists of the officers of the sedentary militia made a brave show, and the form of holding the annual muster on June 29th each year was kept up.

The militia law in force at the termination of the war of 1812-14 was a temporary one, requiring renewal every few years, and lapsed for want of re-enacting in 1820. At the request of the governor-in-chief, the Earl of Dalhousie, who remarked that the constitutional provision for the defence of the country had been shown by the late war to be peculiarly well suited to Lower Canada, the legislature, by passing 59 George III, Chap. 3 re-enacted the law for another two years. By the acts 1 George IV, Chap. 4 and 22 (1821), 3rd, George IV, Chap. 28, and 5th George IV, Chap. 21, the act was further continued. The period of the last extension terminated at a most awkward time for the administration. The struggle between the legislative assembly

of Lower Canada on one side, and the governor-in-chief on the other, regarding the forms and accounts in connection with the votes for the expenses of the civil government, reached a climax in 1827, and the differences on this one question were so acute that they caused the rejection by the legislature of every measure which the government presented, including the bill to renew the Militia Act. The administration claimed that by the expiry of the Militia Act, two old militia ordinances of the legislative council of the old Province of Quebec of 1787 and 1789, were automatically revived, they never having been absolutely repealed. This of course was disputed by the opposition, and the militia became a source of discord and agitation. The governor promptly ordered the formal musters of the militia to be made under the old ordinances, and some militia officers, who protested publicly that the proceeding was illegal and tried to dissuade the militiamen from attending muster, had their commissions cancelled. This action was held up as a further arbitrary abuse of the executive powers.

The militiamen's duty was exceedingly light, in fact only nominal, under either the temporary lapsed acts or the old re-instated ordinances. The militiamen had to meet after divine service on a Sunday, or other holiday, once a year, and answer to the call of their names, as an acknowledgment of obedience to the laws, and their duty was done.

While the affairs of the provincial militia were in this unsatisfactory condition, Lord Dalhousie undertook to effect an important reform in the system under which the militia in the City of Quebec were divided into "British" and "Canadian" battalions, a system which tended to keep alive an inexpedient and impolitic distinction. Consequently a militia general order was issued under date April 28, 1828, reading as follows:—

"His excellency the governor-general and commander-in-chief, being desirous to do away with the distinction which has always been supposed to exist in the militia of Quebec as forming one English and two Canadian battalions, has thought proper to order that to each battalion be allotted a certain portion of the city, in which all householders or lodgers shall be enrolled, whether British or Canadian born, that no distinction of religion shall be considered—and that arrangements shall be made gradually, to appoint to each battalion those captains and officers and non-commissioned officers, who, as householders, are resident within the limits of the battalion. The governor-in-chief is sensible that this may create at first some trouble and inconvenience, but the object is too important to admit of any consideration of such a difficulty, etc., etc."

This system was in 1847 reversed, and the old order of things restored, by Lord Cathcart. The unwise change was attributed to the advice given His Excellency by Lieut.-Col. Tache, then adjutant-general of the militia in Lower Canada.—(Christie.)

During the session of 1829, while Sir James Kempt was acting as administrator, much time was occupied discussing a new militia bill. The assembly passed the bill with a clause declaring that the removals and appointments of officers that had been made since May 1st, 1827, when the militia ordinances of 1787 and 1789 came into force again in consequence of the lapsing of the temporary acts, were illegal and null. The legislative council considered that this entrenched upon the prerogative of the executive, amended the bill accordingly, and sent it back to the assembly for concurrence. The assembly refused to accept the amendments, and the bill fell through.

At the following session, the question of the militia was again revived, at first apparently with the object rather of impeaching the former governor than with that of placing militia matters in the province on a more satisfactory basis. The result of the first discussion of militia matters during the session was the adoption of a petition to the King by "the Commons of Lower Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled," which is interesting as giving a review of the militia legislation of the province since the conquest.

According to the terms of the petition:—

"Certain ordinances for the better regulation of the militia of the then Province of Quebec, were made and passed by the governor and legislative council of the said province in the years of 1787 and 1789, which ordinances were inadequate, arbitrary and vexatious in their provisions, unnecessarily bothersome to the subject, subversive of personal freedom and the right of property, and subjected all the male inhabitants of the said province, between sixteen and sixty years of age, to an exercise of martial law in time of peace.

"That by an act passed in the second session of the first Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada, in the 34th year of the reign of your Majesty's royal father of revered memory, (George III), it was declared and enacted that from and after the passing of the said act, the said ordinances shall be, and they are hereby repealed, and certain temporary provisions were substituted in lieu thereof.

"That the said provisions and other temporary provisions for regulating the militia were continued or enacted by various other acts of the provincial parliament, and continued from time to time, till the first day of May in the year 1816, when they expired in consequence of a premature dissolution of the house of

assembly, and were revived by another temporary act of the provincial parliament, passed on the twenty-second day of March in the following year.

"That during the interval between the first day of May in the year 1816 and the said 22nd of March, 1817, the aforesaid ordinances, nor any other law for regulating the militia were enforced or pretended to be inforced, or known to be in existence by the body of the inhabitants of the said province fit for militia duty.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, P.C., G.C.M.G., Honorary Colonel, the 3rd Victoria Rifles. Commanded a militia company at Winnipeg during the Fenian Raid of 1871. Raised Strathcona's Horse during the South African War at his own expense.

"That all the provisions for regulating the militia of this province revived, continued or enacted by the provincial parliament, at or subsequently to the said 22nd day of March, in the year 1817, expired on the first day of May, 1827, after a sudden prorogation of the provincial parliament, which was followed by a premature dissolution of the assembly.

"That the aforesaid ordinances of the governor and legislative council, for regulating the militia of the late Province of Quebec, were pretended to be revived, and were enforced by the late governor of this province, soon after the said prorogation, whereby he assumed a legislative authority over your Majesty's subjects in this province, and attempted to establish arbitrary power over their persons and property, under colour of law."

Among the British names appearing in the division list as supporting this petition were those of Messrs. Leslie, Brookes, Child, Scott, Peck, Cannon, Neilson and Knowlton.

On receiving the petition, his excellency stated that he would not fail to transmit it to the King, but added:—"I must, however, observe on the present occasion that His Majesty's courts of justice in this province, having determined that the ordinances in question are laws in force, my duty necessarily requires me to be governed by such judicial decision until a new act shall be passed by the provincial parliament for the regulation of the militia, a measure which I sincerely hope will be effected in the course of the present session.

It is understood that the Home Government took no notice of this petition.

Later in the session a militia bill (10 and 11 George IV, Chap. 3) was passed, putting at rest the difficulty that had arisen between the executive and the assembly, relative to the old ordinances of 1787 and 1789. This bill enabled the governor to call the legislature together in time of war, etc., exacted a property qualification in persons commissioned to the militia, and residence within their respective territorial divisions.

Before the departure of Sir James Kempt, (October 30, 1830) he made a beginning with the reorganization of the militia, reinstating several, if not all, of those deprived of their commissions, leaving the consummation of the work of conciliation and reform to his successor, Lord Aylmer, who arrived at Quebec, to assume the reins of government, in H.M.S. *Herald*, October 13, 1830. Hence the earliest association of the Aylmer family with the national defensive force of Canada.

In opening the session of the legislature in 1834, the governor in his speech remarked:—"Amongst the acts which are about to expire, I think it necessary to draw your particular attention to the act 10 and 11 George IV., Chap. 3, intituled An act to provide for the better defence of the province, and to regulate the militia

thereof, continued by 2nd William IV., Cap. 55. Should it be judged expedient further to continue that act, I would recommend to you to consider the expediency of embodying in it the provisions of the act 2nd William IV., Cap. 42, intituled 'An act to authorize the appointment of courts of enquiry, for investigating the qualifications of militia officers in certain cases,' which act is also about to expire."

In proroguing parliament the governor thanked the legislature for having passed the militia bill as recommended.

At this period there was some small effort within the militia of Lower Canada to maintain what may be called an active force of drilled volunteers, several volunteer companies being organized at Montreal and Quebec. At first they appear to have been uniformed and equipped at the private expense of the members, and there was, of course, no idea of obtaining pay for drill; but for a short time some of these volunteer corps connected with militia organizations had the distinction of obtaining official recognition and of even being armed, and to a very slight extent, equipped, at the public expense.

In the Dominion Archives, at Ottawa, is a return dated October 16, 1824, of "Arms, accoutrements, ammunition, etc., issued to different regiments of militia in the Montreal District from March Quarter, 1823 to September Quarter, 1824."

This return shows that there were issued to the Fifth Battalion Township Militia in March Quarter, 1823, under authority of an order dated February 21st, 1823, sixty swords of scimitar pattern and fourteen belts for same, the whole of a value of sixty one pounds, eleven shillings and eight pence.

To the "Montreal Militia" there were issued in the June Quarter, under authority dated June 5, 1823, fifty muskets complete and 150 musket ball cartridges, the whole of a value of one hundred pounds, nine shillings.

To the "Royal Montreal Cavalry," in the December Quarter, on authority dated November 29, 1823, there were issued 40 saddles and bridles, 60 swords ("Scymitar") with scabbards, 60 cavalry pistols and 160 buff leather slings and infantry pouches.

To the last mentioned corps a further issue was made during March Quarter, 1824, on authority dated January 24, 1824, of 50 saddles and bridles, 40 swords and scabbards, 40 saddle bags and 180 buff slings and pouches, the whole issue to the corps being valued at £573, 3s., 4d.

To the Montreal Rifle Corps in June Quarter, 1824, under authority dated May 28, 1824, there were issued 900 ball cartridges described as "French musquets," and fourteen and a half pounds of fine grain powder, the whole of a value of £3, 1s, 1d.

To the Beauharnois Militia in the June Quarter, on authority dated March 10, 1824, there were issued 100 musquets, 100 sets of accoutrements complete and 1,000 ball cartridges.

The value of the whole issue was £993, 15s., 1d., as certified by F. Sisson, the storekeeper at Montreal.

The apparent triumph of these enthusiastic volunteers was not to be of long duration, thanks to a combination of red-tape and political exigency.

December 27, 1824, the secretary of the Ordnance Department wrote to the Colonial Office in London, transmitting a detailed account for these arms and accoutrements and asking on behalf of the Board of Ordnance that the Earl of Bathurst, the colonial secretary, be asked to order payment of the amount of £993, 14s., 1d., to the Treasurer of the Ordnance.

February 11, 1825, the Colonial Department on behalf of Lord Bathurst transmitted the correspondence from the Board of Ordnance to the Earl of Dalhousie, the governor-in-chief, then in England, with the request that the governor would report "for His Lordship's (Bathurst's) information the fund from which the payments referred to can be made."

The governor-in-chief replied on the 17th of the same month, and his letter was answered by one which is very interesting as indicating the attitude of the Imperial Government, at that date, towards the local forces of the colonies. The colonial secretary's letter to the Earl of Dalhousie was as follows:—

Downing Street,

5th March, 1828.

My Lord:—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 17th February.

I approve of the issues which have been made, under your directions, of ordinance stores to certain corps of militia in the district of Montreal, and I have to convey to you my authority for the payment of their value, £993 18s. 1d from the military chest at Quebec to be charged upon the army extraordinaries. I must, however, apprize you that although free grants of arms are allowed by His Majesty's Government to colonial militias on their first establishment, with a view to encourage the formation of such corps, yet this encouragement is given in the confident anticipation that the colonies, when the militias are so formed, will maintain them properly accoutred and armed, without further assistance from His Majesty's Government other than the advantage of receiving from time to time the necessary supplies from the ordinance

stores on payment of the price at which they were originally contracted for in this country. You will therefore consider that the province under your government must provide for all future supplies of this nature, unless they are for the purpose of facilitating the formation of a new corps, or under some special circumstances, on which you will enable me to take His Majesty's pleasure.

It appears, moreover, by representations which have been made by the Master-General and Board of Ordinance that in all cases of supplies furnished to the colonial militias, whether gratuitously or otherwise, it is necessary that an application should be previously transmitted to me, and after communication with the ordinance, having been approved by this office, directions will be given for such a delivery being made as shall be then authorized, and upon notice of their having been so delivered, the agents of the respective provinces must be duly authorized, by the proper authorities, to pay the Ordinance for them at the rate at which the Ordinance may have contracted for them.

I have the honour to be
my lord,

Your lordship's obedient

humble servant,

BATHURST.

Further correspondence ensued between the officials in Canada, which shows that during 1824 certain arms and accoutrements had also been issued to various Quebec militia corps, including "The Artillery Volunteers" "Grenadier and Light Companies of the 1st Battalion," "Light Company, 2nd Battalion," "Quebec Volunteer Cavalry," "Quebec Volunteer Rifle Company," "Volunteer Militia Companies in the Township of Hull."

In a letter of October 28, 1825, addressed to Major General Darling by Ralph Gore, ordinance storekeeper at Quebec and Capt. G. Coffin, commanding the Royal Artillery, to whom the matter had been referred, the following was stated:—"All the arms and accoutrements which were issued were articles which had been used and repaired, and the arms in particular, although called serviceable, were only fit for the exercise or training of troops and were not fit for actual service. A great proportion of the articles issued to the militia in the Montreal district were supplied from the stores at Quebec."

The two officers declined to place any value on the articles in question for this reason.

This was the exact period when the acrimonious discussion over the financial system of the government was at its very height, the governor-in-chief being accused of making use of the public monies illegally, without the previous authority of the legislature, Particularly had he been censured by Papineau and others for certain advances made from the military chest to the receiver-general. As the army authorities would assume no responsibility, even so far as to place the actual value on the arms and accoutrements, Lord Dalhousie appears to have ordered all the goods issued to be returned into stores, and August 2, 1826, Lord Bathurst wrote him approving "of the measure you have adopted for causing the arms and accoutrements issued to be returned into ordinance stores." In the same letter Bathurst expressed the opinion that arms might be sold to men of good character who formed themselves into military corps, but held subject to recall.

During the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the rebellion in 1837 the militia of Lower Canada had little encouragement, and the few volunteer corps less. If volunteer corps were maintained in the cities of Montreal and Quebec at all, it was due rather to the military spirit of the officers and men and to the popular apprehension that the perpetual political agitation would eventually result in rebellion, than to any encouragement received from the authorities.

When the rebellion actually broke out in the autumn of 1837, Montreal, and in fact the whole of Canada, had very little in the way of military protection. The position was very critical indeed. There were only four or five regiments in Canada, the First Royals, 15th, 24th, 32nd, and 66th.

The sedentary militia battalions were in a hopeless state of disorganization, and the only volunteer corps in the Montreal district which was chiefly affected, were a troop of cavalry at Lachine, a troop in Montreal, and a rifle company in Montreal.

When the authorities realized that they had a rebellion on hand they at once authorized the enrollment of volunteer corps. The loyal male population of the City of Montreal which was not enrolled in volunteer corps was formed into "Ward Drill Associations" or "Home Guards".

These corps and drill associations were soon up to full strength, and the whole British population, and many loyal French, went in for soldiering with enthusiasm. All the available halls and warehouses in Montreal were pressed into service as drill halls, and the volunteers drilled night and day. Each corps had a sergeant from one of the regular regiments attached as drill instructor, and a few weeks of such hard work as they put in speedily got the various units into very good shape indeed.

The Government furnished these corps with flint-locks and accoutrements. They were not served with uniforms the first year, but supplied with military overcoats and immense fur caps.

After the rebellion, there ensued another period of depression in military affairs in Lower Canada. It was, so far as military matters were concerned, the time of the most inactive part of the era of torpor in England, which intervened between the battle of Waterloo and the Crimean war. In 1840 the Royal Canadian Rifle Regiment was organized in Canada. The regiment was in no way connected with the militia, being an Imperial corps raised for garrison purposes in Canada and recruited among veterans who had not served less than seven years in line regiments. As might be supposed the men were a remarkably sturdy and generally fine lot. The Regiment performed garrison duty until 1871, when it was disbanded. This corps did its part in keeping up some military spirit in Canada previous to 1855 and, moreover, in the year last mentioned did good service for the newly organized active militia regiments by providing them with very efficient instructors. But this is anticipating.

The Act of Union was drafted by Lord Sydenham and passed by the British parliament in 1840, the object being to obviate difficulties which had arisen between the sister provinces. Before the drafting of this act, the special council of Lower Canada had agreed to the union and to the assumption by the United Provinces of the large debt of Upper Canada, and a month after this agreement had been reached, namely, in December, 1839, the legislative of Upper Canada had also agreed to the union.

CHAPTER VI

THE MILITIA OF UNITED CANADA

The Mother Country, While Conceding Self-Government to Canada, Expects Her to Do More in Her Own Defence.—The Trent Affair and Fenian Raids.—The Militia Becomes a National Defensive Force.

At the time of the Union, the muster rolls of the sedentary militia in Upper Canada, known as "Canada West" in the Union, showed 248 battalions with 117,000 men, while in Lower Canada, ("Canada East") there were 178 battalions with 118,000 men.

It will have been observed by the reading of the preceding chapters that, although the systems on which the militia of the two provinces of "United Canada" were organized were of completely different origins, they were both based upon the underlying principle of universal liability to military service of the adult male populations, with a few natural exceptions. Conscription was the theory of both, the ballot being available to raise any force for active service in case an insufficient number of volunteers offered, and there was a provision in both provinces for the acceptance of volunteers towards the quota. There were some clearly defined points of difference in the militia systems of the two provinces somewhat to be wondered at, in view of the continual interchange of civil and military administrators between the sister provinces.

In Upper Canada the militia was composed of all the male inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 60, and they had, as a matter of duty, to muster once only each year, and merely for enrollment. Colonels, however, had the optional right to assemble their commands one day in each month for drill and inspection, but they seldom, if ever, did it. In Lower Canada the service age was from 16 to 60, and there were three compulsory muster days each year, namely, in June, July and August. The object of these musters was not merely enrollment, but "to review arms, to fire at marks, and for instruction in the exercise." In Lower Canada, moreover, in line with the practices of the old French regime, the militia officers and even non-commissioned officers continued to exercise important functions in connection with the civil administration, the maintenance of highways and bridges, the enforcement of the statute labour laws, the holding of coroner's inquests, etc.

At the time of the Union the question of Canadian defence was under serious consideration in England, reports on the subject having been prepared by army officers then serving in Canada. The British government urged that as Canada was being accorded more fully the right to govern herself, and was also being given direct control of her national assets and revenues, she should assume her own share of responsibility in connection with the defence of her frontier. In fact, British statesmen began to think that it was time for Canada to do something more than supply the men for an auxiliary force to the British army in the case of war or invasion. One of the most important communications ever received from England,

upon the subject of Canadian defence, bears date as far back as 1841, and was contained in a despatch from Lord John Russell, then colonial secretary, to Lord Sydenham, governor-general, which read as follows:—

"Downing Street, 3rd May, 1841.

"My Lord,

"The despatches which I have received from you on the general state of the Province of Canada, the reports with which you have furnished me on several important subjects, and the approaching meeting of the council and assembly of the United Province have induced me to explain to you, at this time, the views which Her Majesty's government entertain on the topics most interesting to the welfare of Canada.

"In any measure that may be adopted, it must be taken for granted, that Her Majesty persists in the determination to maintain, at all hazards, Her Royal authority in Canada. Neither the honour of Her Majesty's crown, nor the support due to Her Royal subjects in British North America, nor the provident care of the interests of the empire at large, would permit any deviation from this fixed principle of British policy.

"At the same time, Her Majesty's advisers are not insensible to the difficulties imposed upon them in carrying into execution the purpose of the crown.

"A province bordered by an open frontier of more than a thousand miles, approached with ease at all times by the citizens of a neighboring and powerful state, separated from England, not only by the ocean, but by the rigours of climate and season, must be maintained by a judicious preparation for defence in time of peace, and vigourous exertion of the resources of the empire in time of war; or not at all. To trifle with the fortunes of men, whose lives and properties are freely devoted to the service of England, or to encourage foreign aggression by neglect or apathy, would be far worse than the spontaneous surrender of these important possessions of the crown.

"The Canadians might, in such a case, incur the risk; no blood need be shed, and the treasures of no empire might be spared. The other course would be cruel to a brave people, and unbecoming the character of the country.

"But, as I have already said, we have no alternative. We have only to consider the means of binding Canada more firmly to this country—of developing her resources—of strengthening her British population—of defending her territory, and of supporting and encouraging the loyal spirit of the people.

"In this spirit, then, I shall touch upon the principal topics connected with these views.

"I have perused with great interest the enclosures in your despatch of 24th December, 1840, containing reports from Lieut-General Sir Richard Jackson, and Col. Oldfield, the commanding officer of engineers, on this subject.

"The question is one of so much importance, that I was not satisfied with referring your despatch to the Master-General and Board of Ordnance, but I also asked the opinion of the commander-in-chief, and requested him to consult the Duke of Wellington, whose high authority on every military subject, is, in this instance, of peculiar weight, from the attention he has for many years given to this matter, both on political and on military grounds."

"Their opinions are transmitted with this despatch.

"Her Majesty's Government agree in opinion with Lord Hill and Sir Richard Jackson, that no dependence upon the decided superiority of our troops and arrangements made for defence, connected with them, should lead us to neglect the construction, and completion of permanent works calculated for the protection of the points of most importance to us.

"They likewise concur in His Lordship's opinion that, in the event of the construction of these or any other works, a large effective regular force, and a militia, registered and enrolled, but not called from their districts, except in case of invasion, will be indispensable.

"But it cannot be reasonably expected that works on a large scale should be undertaken without reference to the great expense to be incurred.

"I have therefore to inform you that the Government are prepared to state their opinion that beyond the ordinary estimates of the year, £100,000 should yearly be applied for the defence of Canada. At present this sum is nearly absorbed in the maintenance of the militia and volunteers, but by a more economical plan this expense might be greatly diminished, and a great portion of the sum of £100,000 left for the improvement of military communications, and the erection and repair of fortifications.

"You will hear further from me on this point when I have more fully considered the various plans proposed.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL."

According to the Act of Union, the old laws of each province were to remain in force therein until replaced by legislation enacted by the parliament of Canada. Consequently the old militia laws remained in force for some time.

The first act of the parliament of United Canada affecting the militia (4 and 5 Victoria, Chapter II), "An act to amend the Militia Law of that part of this province formerly constituting the Province of Upper

Canada") merely provided for the amendment of two clauses of the old act, that affecting Quakers and others have conscientious scruples against military service, and that relating to the collection of fines, in default of militia service, from Aliens.

With this exception the old laws of the two formerly distinct provinces continued to remain in force until 1864.

This was the time of the outbreak of anti-British feeling and war talk in the United States over the Oregon Boundary dispute, when the slogan of the agitators was the historic formula "Fifty-four-Forty or-Fight." Naturally the unsatisfactory state of the militia laws, with one code in force in one part of the united province and a different one in the other, was realized, and June 9, 1846, assent was given to a comprehensive and elaborate Militia Act (9 Victoria, Chapter 28).

This act was supposed to be a consolidation of the militia laws of the two former provinces; but the influence of the old Upper Canada laws predominated, and a large proportion of the clauses of the new statute were adopted in their entirety from the laws in question. The militia were relieved of the various civil duties which had been a feature of the Lower Canada laws and the service age limit was fixed at from 18 to 60, divided into two classes, 18 to 40, first class; 40 to 60, second. An enrollment period for men of both classes, extending from the first to the 20th of June, was provided for. An active quota, ordinarily not to exceed 30,000 men, was provided for. Enrollment for this quota was to be voluntary, except in case the quota was not filled, when the ballot could be resorted to. In case of invasion or war the governor could call out the whole militia. In the event of actual service, one half the men of the active quota, to be determined by lot, might be permitted to return home, the other half to serve the full term. Militiamen drawn by ballot for active service and not wishing to serve were allowed to provide substitutes, but the whole of the first class in peace time were to assemble "for muster and discipline" one day each year, namely on June 29. The governor was authorized to form volunteer regiments of infantry or other corps of militia—dragoons, artillery, rifles or light infantry.

This bill was brought in during the Draper administration, and the opposition of the day, headed by Mr. Lafontaine and Sir Etienne Tache, came forward to support the government in carrying this measure.

This Act has been described as the first stepping stone between the old purely sedentary militia system, and the present one. It was a temporary Act, terminable in three years, but subject to re-enactment, like the old English Army and Militia Acts, a reminder of the national dread of military domination.

This act was in due course continued by the Act 13 and 14 Victoria, Chapter 11.

In 1846 the Montreal Fire Brigade, then a volunteer organization, was formed into a battalion of militia under command of the then mayor, the Hon. James Ferrier, Mr. John Fletcher, afterwards Lieut.-Col. Fletcher, C.M.G., being appointed adjutant. This battalion drilled, but without arms, in the market hall, during the winter months, for several years, and made good progress. The duties of the battalion as a fire brigade, and the musters at fires and company parades, served to maintain it in its strength as a volunteer militia corps long after the excitement of the Oregon incident had died away.

On the breaking out of the Crimean war in 1854 Captain Fletcher, with authority, offered the services of one hundred men of the Montreal Fire Battalion to the Imperial government as volunteers, for the war, and received the thanks of the Secretary of State for War therefor.

In August, 1854, there was organized in Montreal, a volunteer corps under the name of "The Montreal Rifle Rangers", which after a continuous existence of over half a century, is now Number One Company of the First Prince of Wales Fusiliers. The company originally numbered sixty-four rank and file.

While the excitement aroused by the Crimean war was at its height, the Canadian government, after considerable correspondence with the Imperial government, agreed to enroll and maintain a small active force for internal purposes, and to act as auxiliaries to the British regular troops in the event of foreign war or invasion. This force was to be composed of men engaged in the ordinary avocations of civil life, but held equipped, officered, and fairly well drilled in the elements of military work, and available for service at short notice. By the terms of the agreement between the home and colonial governments all the works and lands in Canada held by the Imperial government, were to be transferred to the government of Canada, except at five posts, namely, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Niagara and Sorel, which were to be retained by the home government so long as regular troops remained in garrison at these points. At this time the Imperial authorities announced it to be their intention, eventually, to remove all the regular troops in Canada, except the garrisons of Halifax, and a naval base in British Columbia.

The Canadian government agreed to assume the responsibility, and the bargain so far as the Mother Country was concerned was in course of time com-

pleted by the transfer of many millions of dollars worth of military property to the Canadian government.

With British and French troops fighting bravely side by side in the Crimea, there was a keen military spirit at this period throughout the length and breadth of Canada, and several small volunteer organizations sprang into existence. Owing to the drain upon the military resources of Great Britain, Canada was practically denuded of regular troops.

The Canadian people felt that the time had come to assume more direct responsibility than they had hitherto done for the defence of the country, and this feeling found expression in a very important statute.

The Militia Act of 1855 (18 Victoria, Chapter 77) marks a notable step in the development of the active militia of Canada as we have it to-day. The few volunteer corps which had sprung up in Canada, and very few of which had been maintained for any time, had been tolerated rather than encouraged by the authorities. The militia systems hitherto in force, since the cession, had been good for little else than to provide for the occasional mustering of the territorial militiamen in peace time and to furnish as simple and economical a system as possible for the mobilization of the men to form an active force to act as auxiliaries to the regular army in case of emergency. The act of 1855 recognized the old, territorial, sedentary militia system as the back bone of the national defensive force, but, and herein lies its historical importance sanctioned the raising and maintenance of a permanently organized active force to act as the nucleus of a national Canadian army.

This Act (18 Victoria, Chapter 77), which was based upon the report of a Royal Commission, provided that the governor should be ex-officio commander-in-chief of the provincial militia.

The whole country was divided into a certain number of districts for military purposes, and these were again divided into regimental districts. Two divisions of the militia, "sedentary" and "Active," were provided for.

The sedentary militia was to consist of all male inhabitants, with a few exceptions, between the ages of 18 and 60. In time of peace no actual service or drill was required of the sedentary militia. This militia was divided into two classes, "service men" and "reserve men," the service men class again being sub-divided into "1st class service men" and "2nd class service men." All the service men (from 18 to 40 years of age) required to attend one muster a year, the Queen's Birthday in Upper Canada; June 29 in Lower Canada. The reserve men were exempted from attending muster. The 1st class service men included unmarried men and widowers without children, the 2nd class service men included married men and widowers with children. In the event of the sedentary militia being called out for service, volunteers from the service men were first to be taken, then the 1st class service men drafted, followed, if necessary, by the 2nd class service men, and finally, the reserve men. Arms for the sedentary militia were to be kept in armories in various centres. There was no provision for training the sedentary militia.

The "Active or Volunteer Militia" force was not to exceed 16 troops of cavalry, 7 field batteries, 5 foot companies of artillery, and 50 companies of riflemen, or 5,000 officers and men altogether. The organization of engineer and marine companies was also authorized.

"Arms and accoutrements, such as the commander-in-chief may direct" were to be issued at the expense of the province. Field batteries were to perform an annual training of twenty days, 10 of which were to be continuous. Ten days annual training was exacted of other volunteer militia units, and a fairly liberal scale of pay was provided.

Section XXXVIII of this Act contained for the first time a provision for the volunteer militia being called out in aid of the civil power.

Section XL provided that members of the volunteer militia should be exempt from serving as jurors and constables, seven years service entitling volunteer militiamen to such exemption in perpetuity.

Under this Act, each of the former provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was divided into 9 military districts. Colonel de Rottenburg was, on the 9th July, 1855, appointed Adjutant-General for Canada. Lieutenant-Colonel Melchior Alphonse De Salaberry, Deputy Adj.-Gen. for Lower Canada, and Lieut.-Col. Donald Macdonald, for Upper Canada.

The first companies of volunteers enrolled under this Act were two rifle companies, one at Quebec, the other (the Montreal Rifle Rangers) at Montreal, the formation of which was regularly authorized by general order, 31st August, 1855.

New organizations were raised in all the chief centres of population, and early in 1856 the full number of corps authorized had been organized, and in several, equipped, at the expense of the officers and men themselves.

Considerable impetus was at the start given to the little active force in Canada by the indignation aroused in Canada over the atrocities of the Indian mutiny and the authorization given by the Imperial Government in 1858 to the governor, Sir Edmund Head, to accept the offer of a regular regiment made by the people of Canada. This was the origin of the 100th Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians).

In 1856 an amendment (19 Victoria, Chapter 44) was made to the Militia Act, which emphasized the development of the voluntary idea in the Canadian militia. By this Act the muster day of the sedentary militia was discontinued.

In 1856 the enrollments under the provisions of the Act of 1855 amounted to four thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine men. That Act marked a considerable step in advance in the development of the organization of the Canadian militia, but after all, up to the time of the Trent excitement in 1861, little more than the merè laying of the foundation, on which the present organization exists, can have been said to have been accomplished.

In 1859 there was another important development of the volunteer system, a new Act (22 Victoria, Chapter 18) being passed providing (Section 15) that where possible the independent companies should be grouped together and organized into regiments or battalions, of not less than six, nor more than ten companies. The nine companies in Montreal were brigaded under the title "The First Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles of Canada," by a militia general order dated Quebec, 17 November, 1859. This corps still exists as the First Prince of Wales Fusiliers.

By order, dated Quebec, April 26th, 1860, the four rifle companies in Toronto, with the Barrie Rifle Company and the Highland Rifle Company of Whitby, were constituted into a battalion styled the "Second Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles of Canada." It is scarcely necessary to add that, as the 2nd Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, one of the most efficient and most historic corps of the service, this regiment still exists.

The Act XVIII Victoria, Chapter 77, which was officially designated "An Act to Amend and make Permanent the Laws Relating to the Militia of this Province," did something more than provide for the regimental organization of the volunteer militia and the permanency of the militia laws. Provision (Section 12) was made for uniformity in clothing, it being laid down that there should be a service uniform for each service, similar in colour, pattern and design, to be approved by the commander-in-chief.

This act placed certain restrictions upon the strength and drill periods which were much resented in the service at the time, but which were considered necessary owing to the rapid increase of the force, volunteer companies springing into existence everywhere, and exhausting the militia appropriations. The period of drill for field batteries was reduced to twelve days a year, six of which had to be consecutive. Other volunteer corps had to drill for six consecutive days each year. The paid establishments were reduced to 30 men per company, but captains were given the option to raise 20 additional men and distribute the pay among the full company. It was provided that the arms were to be kept in armouries where such existed, otherwise they were left in charge of the captains, to whom an allowance was made. The schedule for pay, rising from one dollar a day for non-commissioned officers and men, as fixed by the former act, remained the same.

The "Trent" excitement in the years 1861 and 1862 had an important and beneficial effect upon the active militia, the menaces of invasion arousing the military spirit of the whole Canadian people and stimulating the energies of the newly organized defensive force. Many of the existing organizations of the active militia trace their existence back to those stirring months. Voluntary drills went on morning, noon and night, and while the infant Canadian defensive force was trying to get itself into serviceable shape, the Mother Country poured regular troops into Canada.

Towards the end of January, 1862, with a view of more effectively organizing the militia, the governor general issued a commission on which, were placed Colonel Daniel Lysons, C.B., of H.M. Army, Colonel the Hon. Sir Allan N. MacNab, Bart., Colonel the Hon. Sir E. P. Taché, C.B., Colonel Campbell, C.B., of St. Hilaire, and Colonel Cameron of Kingston. The regular service was represented on the commission by Colonel Lysons, sent out specially on this service by the Imperial government, as having large experience with English volunteers; and each one of the four colonels appointed to the commission commanded militia districts in various sections of the province. Two of them had been members of a former militia commission. Lieut.-Colonel Wily, of the 1st Battalion, who had had much experience with volunteers in Canada, was secretary of the commission. The formation of any more new corps was suspended until a new law could be brought into force.

The commission recommended that an active force of 50,000 men should be raised, the usual period of training to be 28 days. A vitally important recommendation was that a qualification of military efficiency should be exacted from militia officers. Upon this recommendation the Cartier-Macdonald administration introduced a bill providing for an annual expenditure of $1,000,000.

Upon introducing this bill into parliament the Hon. J. A. Macdonald (later Sir J. A. Macdonald) explained its provisions at length.

A military authority of great value—Sir John Burgoyne—had given it as his opinion that to hold the country in the face of a foreign foe, 100,000 militiamen would be required to assist the British arm of the service.

An interesting statement was laid before the commission by Colonel Lysons, showing the distribution that would be actually requisite for making at least a show of defence of this country with 50,000 men, and an examination of the map would show that to make anything like a show of defence, 50,000 men would be the smallest force available for that purpose. The commission reported therefore that a force of 50,000 men would be required for the defence of this country, in addition to the reserve. And the plan, as pointed out by the commission in the report, was simply this: that a force of 50,000 men should be organized, and that they should be trained for a period of three years, as regards the rural population of the country, and for five years as regards the population of the cities and towns. The report recommended that the country should be divided into a certain number of military districts. The number under the existing system was 19. It was not proposed by the report that that number should be altered. But it was proposed that each military district should be divided into a certain number of regimental divisions. It was considered of great importance that in forming regimental divisions, the county divisions should be preserved as much as possible. It was thought of great importance, for keeping up the esprit du corps, that each county in this country, as in England, should have its own militia, in order that there might be that wholesome competition which was exemplified both in Upper and Lower Canada, when there were the Glengarry militia, and several other county corps.

It was proposed by the commission that in each regimental division there should be a central rallying point, where the arms and the clothing for the regimental division should be kept. Each regimental division, it was proposed, should be divided into so many battalions of sedentary militia. There might be eight or nine battalions in a regiment, and each battalion would furnish a company for active service. Those active service men would form what is called an active battalion. This active battalion would be enrolled for three years.

It was proposed that from each regimental division a regular active battalion shall be formed, commanded by officers who should have passed such an examination as to show they could be entrusted with the command of a battalion. The men were to be enrolled for three years. They were to meet annually at their central point, and then they were to be drilled for such a period, annually, as parliament might fix. While the report stated that the drill should be for not more than 28 days, it recommended that it should not be for less than 14 days. It would be for parliament to say how many men should be taken out for drill, and for how many days' drill an appropriation should be made. In the opinion of the commissioners, to obtain full efficiency in the force, it was necessary that the men be drilled for 28 days in the year.

Supposing there should be an alarm of war, the operation of the system, as proposed, would be this, on an alarm of war being given, the active militia would assemble at their central point, their armory. It was proposed that at each armory there shall be a staff officer, an adjutant, who shall be a fully trained officer, obtained from the regular service. He would be the inspector in drill of the active battalion, and the executive officer. He would be there on the spot, and on the active battalion, in the event of an alarm of war, meeting at the central point, he marched with it to the frontier, or wherever it might be ordered.

At the end of three years, having received during that period an annual drill of from 14 to 28 days, as might be ordered, the regular or active battalion would fall into the reserve. It became a reserve battalion for three years more. And during the three years that the men were in reserve, their acquaintance with the drill they acquired while in the active force, would be kept up by a drill of six days, annually. Suppose the report of the commissioners carried out to the fullest extent there would be a force of 50,000 men for three years, those 50,000 men would become reserve, and other 50,000 men would assume the position of being the active force. Thus the military spirit, which is so essential in every country, would grow up, and would extend every year after the first three years, so that, ere long, of all the men in the country capable of bearing arms, a large proportion would know how to use those arms, and to use them efficiently.

It was not proposed to ignore the volunteer system. But the Commission and the Government felt that the system of drill must vary in the rural and in the urban districts. In the towns and cities, where a number of people were collected together, they could be easily assembled for the purpose of drill. But that system was not practicable in the country, where the inhabitants lived apart from each other, it may be in districts that are not thickly settled. It would be necessary that the volunteers in the country parts should be assembled for stated periods and receive their drill for a number of consecutive days, and not, as in the cities, for a few hours each day; for that in the country would be out of the question. With regard to the volunteer principle, it would be the same in the country as in the towns. Volunteers would be called for in the first instance, and it was only in the case of volunteers not being procured, that there would be any necessity for the ballot. With regard to cities, the bill provided that each city specified

in it should form a military district in itself, and such a volunteer system would be adopted as would not require the force to drill for a number of consecutive days; but the men would drill as they could, consistently with their engagement, and as the volunteers had previously been doing. It was provided, however, that if the volunteer organization failed or broke down in the cities or towns, the population would not escape from their duty as militiamen, but would be liable, like the population in the country parts, to organization under the regular or sedentary system provided by the bill. It was provided in the bill that all those volunteer corps, which did not exist in the cities, but in the rural districts, might be maintained and kept up, and that others might be formed on the same conditions as volunteer corps then in the cities, this is to say, they might procure arms, if parliament should see fit to supply them, but no pay. When the bill went to committee of the whole, he proposed to move a clause in extension of the principle, for the purpose of giving encouragement to the volunteers of towns and villages, in the same manner as they were encouraged in the cities, under the bill. This was done to enable the volunteer corps that might be formed out of the cities to become useful, available and subservient to the defence of the country, and at the same time not destroy the regular militia force in the country —that is, the regular as distinct from the volunteer force. And in this way, every town and village would be within the bounds of some regular regimental division; and where a volunteer company was formed in a village within a regimental division, that corps would form a portion of the regular battalion raised within the division.

It seemed desirable that every battalion of volunteers should, in addition to its own officers, have the assistance of two officers of the service, one, a field-officer, and one, an adjutant, to assist in the instruction and dicipline of the corps. These officers would be considered as belonging to the army, and in every respect enjoy their rank, pay and other advantages, as if they were actually serving in the army. The expense of this arrangement would be considerable; but from the great superiority which a battalion, with the benefit of such officers, would have over one trained under their own officers, without such assistance, though with the utmost zeal and diligence, the expense would be abundantly compensated by the perfection which the corps would attain.

Instead, however, of having a field-officer and adjutant in every battalion, it was proposed that there should be an officer in every battalion who could discharge the duties of adjutant, and a sergeant. The measure provided that the commander-in-chief might call out a battalion every year from every regimental division; but it also provided that he might dispense, at his discretion, with a portion of the number of days' drill, thus reducing, if it be thought advisable, the annual expense.

Mr. Macdonald proceeded to point out that the bill was an enabling bill. The report recommended certain things. The bill did not say such and such things should be done, but it enabled the commander-in-chief to carry out the system as approved of by the military authorities and by parliament. It was an enabling bill, like the Mutiny Act in England, which parliament passed annually. The militia, in England, was not an annual, but a permanent force, while, on the other hand, parliament voted every year upon the army, so that should there be danger from it to the popular liberties, the parliament of the country could readily deal with it. In this bill there was no provision for the perpetual organization of the militia, but the annual vote would be such as parliament in its wisdom saw fit.

Hon. Mr. Sicotte objected to the discussion proceeding until some estimate of the cost of the proposed system was presented to the house.

Hon. Mr. Macdonald explained that if 50,000 men were raised and drilled for 28 days, the expense would approach £250,000 a year, and it might exceed that. As regards the cost of the armories it would vary. In the country parts they would not be expensive. The estimate was that they would cost £750 a piece, and there would be about sixty of them.

The following would be the maximum cost, if the full provisions of the bill were carried out:—56 adjutants, $51,000; 60 sergeant-majors, $18,000; 10 field batteries of artillery, $26,180; 27 troops of cavalry, $61,236; 10 battalions volunteer militia, $129,164; 49 battalions regular militia, $600,916; clothing allowance of volunteers, $27,879; cost of clothing for militia, $122,253; annual cost of ammunition for practice, $73,556; making a total of $1,110,-204. He added that there was no estimate of the cost of the arms, for it was the ambition of the government to ask the Imperial Government to supply them. The probable cost of the arms would be about £4 a set. There was no item for marine or engineer corps, as these would not be raised except in case of war. The expense stated, contemplated the cost of the whole 50,000 men if they were drilled 28 days in the year. If only 20,000 men were called out and only drilled for 14 days, the expense would be proportionately so much less.

Hon. Mr. Drummond enlarged upon an admission by the Hon. Mr. Macdonald that it was not as yet known if the Imperial Government would give the

arms which should be necessary to equip the 50,000 men. Now, he (Mr. Drummond) thought the government had been extremely neglectful of their duty in not ascertaining this point before they brought in the bill. The fact was that the whole proceeding was a mere partizan proceeding from first to last, and unworthy of the parties who had managed it. The true question to be answered was what was the policy of England towards us? and as this had not been ascertained it was then his duty to exhibit the extraordinary neglect that had been exhibited.

Colonel Rankin rose to ask whether the government had decided what the numerical force of the militia would be? Did they desire to conceal their intentions until they had ascertained those of the house? After the eloquent way in which the necessity of the measure had been presented, he thought the government should say that they really did propose to do. He could not fail, however, to remark what a most extraordinary selection had been made to advise the Crown on this subject. With the solitary exception of Col. Lysons, there was not a person on the commission, who had the slightest fitness for the duty they had assumed. He would have liked on this occasion, though an uncompromising opponent of the ministry, to have given this his countenance and support, but they had shown themselves so wholly unprepared to meet the house, after all the time they had had to consider the measure, that he felt obliged to oppose them. They had not had the courage to come down and say what they wanted, and why had they not? Just because they were afraid of losing their offices. They could not say whether 50,000 would be wanted or 20,000 men; but if the opposition limited them to 2,000 or 500, or even to a solitary company, they would take the number, whatever it might be, for they were evidently prepared to submit to any degree of humiliation.

Hon. Mr. Loranger said he had expected that when the government came forward with such a measure they would be prepared to say why, when the country had hitherto only paid $40,000 per annum for militia purposes, it was at once to devote $2,335,304 for the first year and 1,110,304 for every succeeding year. The country was less able than it had for many years been to bear such expense, for it was well known that there was great commercial depression, and that, in fact, the country was in a pecuniary sense, in extremely low circumstances.

Hon. J. H. Cameron said he wished the Attorney General West (Hon. Mr. Macdonald) would come down boldly with a demand for a definite number of men, and he believed the house would cordially support him. The ways and means for meeting the expense should also be stated, and if the government could not carry their point they should leave it to the opposition to do so.

Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald said if there ever was a measure which required to be well defined and clearly stated, it was that measure before the house. He was sorry to say that the government had failed to tell the house what they really proposed to do. If they had asked a million of money, and then said what they were going to do with it, the house would have known how to act. But no, they brought in the measure in an indefinite manner, for the express purpose of finding out the opinion of the house, as to the number of men it would consent to provide for. In fact, instead of coming to advise the house, they came to the house to be advised—in other words, they were putting the cart before the horse.

During the debate the Hon. A. T. Galt, who was speaking (May 6) on behalf of the government, was asked who was to supply the arms. Mr. Galt explained that the province already owned 7,000 Enfield rifles, which were purchased under the existing militia act. At the period of the Trent difficulty, those were the only arms belonging to the province. The necessities of the country were represented to the Imperial Government, which sent out immediately 30,000 stand of rifles, which were then at Halifax awaiting transportation to Canada. These arms, it was understood, would, on the recommendation of the military authorities, be placed at the disposal of the provincial government. The arms were a most expensive part of the equipment, and if the government of this country were called upon to provide rifles for 50,000 or 100,000 men, a very large expenditure would be required. He spoke of 100,000 men, thinking it desirable to refer to the arming of the sedentary as well as the regular militia, because if circumstances were to arise, requiring the services of 50,000 men, the same necessity would calf for the placing of the reserve of 50,000 in a position to take their places, or to serve with the 50,000 of regular militia. Such a cost as that which the purchase of 100,000 rifles would entail would be too great for the provinces, and must devolve on the Imperial Government. This was only reasonable. If difficulty arose with the United States so as to imperil the safety of Canada, it must arise as a consequence of imperial policy as distinguished from colonial policy. And under such circumstances, coupled with the examples already possessed of the liberal behaviour of the Imperial Government, there was no reason to doubt that the application for arms would be readily responded to. The Canadian Government had good reason to expect that arms would be given either to the militia of Canada by the Imperial Government, or placed at their disposal for service, but still re-

maining the property of the Imperial authorities. The only specific information the government possessed was that Great Britain had already sent out arms to be used by the Canadians, in the manner already described. It might be said it was only a presumption that the Imperial Government would supply arms. If it was nothing more than a presumption, it was a presumption based on the fact that when difficulty arose and arms were required, arms were sent out, accompanied by the assurance that a large number would be forwarded as soon as possible. Before the navigation of the St. Lawrence closed the previous autumn, the government of this province,—although they did not doubt the good-will towards Canada of the people of the United States—thought it would be incurring some risk if they did not represent to the Imperial Government the absence of arms from this country. That representation was made, accompanied by a suggestion that the arms Great Britain might be disposed to send to Canada could be placed in store, to be used in case of need, the necessity for calling out the militia for training not having at that time presented itself. The Trent difficulty occurred shortly afterwards, and Hon. Mr. Vankoughnet, who was in England when the news of that difficulty reached Great Britain, immediately applied to the Home Government, and urged the importance of the request of the Canadian Government being complied with without delay. The result was seen in the shipment a few days afterward of 30,000 stand of arms, an intimation being given at the same time that if more were required they would be dispatched. Happily, the cloud of war blew over, and with it the necessity ceased for a supply of arms. But looking at the pledge England had given over and over again, that the whole force of the empire would be exercised in Canada's favor in the event of her being involved in war in consequence of imperial policy, Canadians had every reason to suppose that she would treat them, in such circumstances, in the fairest and most liberal spirit. If the country was to be made a battle ground it would, as a matter of course, be solely as the result of imperial policy; but he did not see that there was any foundation on which to ground a belief that the whole force of the empire would not be placed at our disposal in case of danger.

A great deal had been said about the doctrines urged by certain parties in the British House of Commons, but Canadians should bear in mind that those persons, who thus mistook the position of Canada, and based their theory upon it, were not the men who held the destinies of the empire in their hands. As forming part of the empire we should be prepared to share in her difficulties as well as her prosperity. If the mother country were assailed, Canadians should not, and would not, stand by with folded arms. But, on the other hand, they were entitled to expect in the hour of danger, from the mother country, that support and assistance to which they were entitled and which they had always received. Those who said, in the House of Commons, that Canada would receive no assistance were also those who maintained that England should have no colonies. Their doctrine relative to Canada was therefore part of their system and policy.

Altogether this proved to be one of the most important and interesting militia debates which has ever taken place in a Canadian parliament.

Opposition to the bill rapidly developed. It was urged, among other things, that the withdrawal of so large a body as 50,000 men from industrial pursuits, though only for a short time, might cause inconvenience, and, which was represented as much more important, that the constant recurring service for five years would worry, and, annoy the men, be much more expensive, and leave them, after all, far less efficiently disciplined than an equal, or even shorter, period of continuous instruction.

At the time, the government happened to be weak politically, and in view of the objections raised to the bill it was deemed a useful instrument to effect the defeat of the administration, and when on May 20, 1862, the motion for the second reading of the bill was made, the vote was taken without any further speaking, and the government defeated by a vote of 54 to 61. The government the next day resigned, and the Hon. J. Sandfield Macdonald was called upon to form a new government.

May 23rd, Mr. Wallbridge, on behalf of the new administration, read to parliament a memorandum of the government's policy, which stated that the ministers proposed to bring in an amendment to the militia law so as to secure a proper enrollment of the available force of the province under efficient officers. The promised bill was brought in by Colonel Haultain, June 5th, 1862, the honourable gentleman explaining that the government desired to leave the law as it then stood, as far as was compatible with the extension of the volunteer system. The financial circumstances of the country were such, as, in their opinion, prevented any large sum being appropriated to militia purposes. As an old military man, it could be easily conceived that he would rather see a vote of $1,000,000 for this purpose than $250,000, but the funds of the country precluded the hope of that desire being fulfilled. Such being the case, they must make the best of their limited resources. It must also be borne in mind that the government had not at their disposal all the information desirable to be possessed with a

view to their framing a more complete measure. And in preparing the bill now before the house, they were guided by the state of the finances and by the belief that they should ask for powers to act in accordance with the information at their disposal. The chief feature of the bill was at once apparent. It was to give, as far as practicable, full scope to the volunteer movement. He believed the feeling in the country was general, that that system should be extended. Hitherto there had been many hindrances to the movement spreading, foremost amongst which were the cost of the clothing and the limited number of men who were entitled to pay whilst being organized and drilled. To a great degree, this bill would remove such drawbacks, by providing clothing and payment for drill for a greater number of men. Another important feature of the bill was the means of instruction it furnished to volunteer companies. He held that the basis of all efficiency among military bodies was the ability of those who were appointed to instruct and command, and that a system established on any other foundation must certainly fail to accomplish the end in view. (Hear, hear.) All the country could hope to do at the time was to furnish that basis to the extent of its means. The bill enabled the commander-in-chief to employ, from time to time, as many drill instructors as were necessary, such drill instructors to be paid by the province. With these facilities afforded, it was hoped that there was to be found in the country patriotism to induce men of various ranks in society to enroll themselves for the defence, if need be, of their country. It was as yet a matter of experiment whether the volunteer system would succeed. On that subject there were differences of opinion. Some were persuaded that compulsion must be resorted to, whilst others were equally persuaded that the feeling existing among the people would induce them to come forward readily when the hindrances of which he had spoken were removed. For the reason he had stated, the absence of precise information, the government had thought it advisable to make the amendments to the existing act as fair and simple as possible, and the new arrangements to be affected would be of a provisional character, and be subject to such future changes as experience might teach to be necessary to be carried into effect.

With a few amendments, this bill was passed and became the Act 25 Victoria, Chapter 1, "An Act to amend the Act respecting the Militia," assented to June 9, 1862. Among its provisions were the following:—

Section 1—The following paragraph shall be added to the twentieth section of "*An Act respecting the Militia, Chapter thirty-five of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada.*

"The commander-in-chief may, whenever he deems it necessary, order that a corrected roll of every company of the sedentary militia be made out; and it shall be the duty of every officer commanding a company, within ten days after such order has been received, to make out such corrected roll, etc., etc.

"22.—The active militia of the province in time of peace shall consist of volunteer troops of cavalry, military train, field batteries of artillery, garrison batteries of artillery, companies of engineers and companies of infantry, and marine and naval companies, to be armed and equipped according to their respective services and to be formed at such places and in such manner as may from time to time be designated or ordered by the commander-in-chief; but except as hereinafter provided, the total strength of such volunteer corps shall not exceed ten thousand officers and men in Class A."

"3.—Each volunteer militiaman shall, in the discretion of the commander-in-chief, be supplied with uniform clothing, while on drill or service, or receive such sum not exceeding six dollars per annum in lieu thereof, as may be directed by the commander-in-chief."

"5.—The commander-in-chief may appoint brigade majors, not exceeding one for each military district. . . . . Each of the brigade majors shall be paid by the province at a rate not exceeding $600 per annum and travelling expenses."

"40.—The non-commissioned officers and men of the active militia (Class A) shall be paid for each day of actual and bona-fide drill not exceeding twelve in number, the sum of fifty cents per diem, and a further sum of one dollar per diem for each horse actually and necessarily present, belonging to and used for such drill by such non-commissioned officers and men. Such days of drill need not be consecutive unless so ordered by the commander-in-chief, who may also determine the manner in which such number of days of drill shall be computed."

Section 43 provided that sergeants-major of field batteries be paid $200 per annum, and musketry and drill instructors, a dollar and fifty cents a day. In time of active service in the field, officers and men were to have same pay and allowances as the regular army.

Provision was made for the raising, in the event of war, in addition to the active and sedentary militia, of regiments of militia by voluntary enlistment for general service. The organization of associations for drill, and of independent companies of infantry in universities, schools and other institutions, but without pay or allowances for clothing, was also authorized.

The rejection of the Militia Bill of the Cartier-Macdonald government drew from the English press, and from not a few English statesmen, the most em-

phatic declarations—many times repeated—that England could not and would not undertake the defence of Canada, unless Canada was prepared to contribute, and that in no slight measure, towards her own protection.

At the second session of parliament in 1863, the John Sandfield Macdonald administration submitted a comprehensive new "Militia Bill" and also a separate "Volunteer Bill," both of which received the support of parliament and were assented to October 15, 1863. The "Militia Act" (27 Victoria, Chapter 2) divided the militia into three classes: 1st class service men, 2nd class service men, and reserve; and provided that the service militia might be called out for six days drill each year, the men to receive pay at the rate of fifty cents a day. Further provisions of this Act included the establishment of a militia department under a responsible minister, the establishment of military schools in connection with the British regular regiments then in Canada, for the training of officers, the laying down of the rule that officers must have qualifying certificates to secure promotion, the authorization of drill associations or cadet corps in universities and schools. Officers of the regular army were to outrank militia officers, and when called out on actual service, the militia were to be given the same rates of pay as corresponding ranks in the regular army.

The second act (27 Victoria, Chapter 3, "An Act Respecting the Volunteer Militia Force") indicated a desire to keep the volunteer service quite distinct from the militia, as in Britain, where there had been a marvellous revival of the old volunteer movement in 1859 and 1860 as a result of the menaces of French invasion at the time of the excitement over the Orsini conspiracy, the volunteer force in a few months expanding from 70,000 to 180,000 men.

This Canadian "volunteer" Act provided for a force of 35,000 men, exclusive of commissioned officers. Uniforms and arms were supplied by the country, and the arms were to be kept in armouries or in the personal charge of commanding officers. Section 34 provided that "volunteers shall always be considered senior to officers of militia of the same rank." Volunteer officers were required to qualify for their commissions before a board of examiners separate from the militia boards. When called out for actual service volunteers were to receive pay at the same rate as the British army, and they were liable to be called out in aid of the civil power. There was no provision for drill pay as in the militia, but an appropriation of $2,000 per annum was made for prizes, to be competed for by corps, for proficiency in drill, discipline and target practice. A further allowance was also made of not less than $50, nor more than $400 per battalion, as an efficiency grant, the aggregate sum, however, not to exceed $5,000.

The success of the system inaugurated by these bills depended almost entirely on the establishment of a couple of military schools, to be attached to imperial regiments serving in Canada, in which the militia officers were to be trained for some two months, if they chose to attend.

The first big rifle meeting participated in by marksmen from all parts of Canada was held in Montreal in 1863, and continuing twelve days. It was under the nominal patronage of Lord Monck, the prizes being furnished by a fund contributed by the Corporation of the City of Montreal, the banks, merchants and others. General Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars fired the first shot, and all matches were open to the British regulars as well as to the militia. The Guards and other regiments forming the strong garrison of Montreal at that time furnished complimentary guards of fifty men every day of the meeting.

Up to the autumn of 1864 not one single company of militia had been organized, or received even the six days' drill which was the maximum permitted, not enjoined, by the new bill.

At this period a statesman who had even then attained a national reputation (Sir Richard Cartwright), advocated strongly in parliament and pamphlet a scheme which comprised these propositions:—

1.—A distinct understanding, convention or treaty with the imperial government in which Canada's contribution, as a province of the empire, towards her own defence, be defined.

2.—The volunteers to be regarded purely as an auxiliary body; chief expenditure to be devoted to disciplining a certain proportion of the "regular" 1st class militia, the number to be fixed by convention as above stated, but supposed likely to range from 50,000 to 100,000 men.

3.—These to be trained in annual instalments of so many thousand a year, each detachment to serve for, say six months, in the open field.

4.—These trained men to be thenceforward free from all further duty in time of peace, but liable for actual service for 10 years, and thereafter to be formed into a reserve, not to be called out except in extreme emergency.

In the autumn (September and October), 1864, the London *Times* and other English papers had much to say about Canada's unpreparedness for war and her responsibility in that regard. "Take care of yourselves, for we can do nothing for you," was, according to one shrewd pamphleteer of the day ("Backwoodsman" of Templeton, Que.), the plain English of all the *Times'* writings of that time about Canadian defence.

"Backwoodsman" in a foot note to one of his pamphlets wrote:—"The last *Times* received here contains, in an article on the above subject, these pregnant sentences:—'The question (of defence) is momentous for Mexico and for Canada, and we have endeavoured to discharge our duty by pointing out the necessity of defence, and endeavouring to arouse our own colony to a sense of its danger. The language we have held has been plain and uniform, and yet, though plain, not such as could give reasonable offence to any community which feels a respect for itself, and estimates properly its duties and its responsibilities. We have stated that Canada leans on a broken reed if she supposes that, in case of an invasion from America, any considerable portion of the burden of her defence can be borne by this country.'"

What is known as the St. Albans Raid in 1864 threatened serious complications with the United States. The United States held the authorities on this side of the line to be responsible, and prompt measures were taken in this country to prevent a repetition of the raid. Provisional battalions were organized from the volunteers for special service in November. The special order issued by the commander-in-chief pointed out that the militia were not to be employed for the purpose of warfare "but with the object of aiding the civil power in its efforts to prevent aggression on the territories of a friendly state, on the part of persons enjoying the right of asylum in Her Majesty's dominions; and to maintain, as regards Canada, complete neutrality with respect to the war existing in the United States, which Her Majesty has enjoined on all subjects."

The organization of the militia at this time made considerable progress, and so did the erection of drill sheds. By the end of 1864 there was an imposing array (on paper) of drill sheds in Canada.

One of the first steps taken towards the successful carrying out of the new legislation was the securing of a capable imperial officer to assume the duties of adjutant-general. The choice fell upon Colonel Patrick L. Macdougall, of whose selection Lord Wolseley, in his book "The Story of a Soldier's Life," wrote:—

"The 'Trent Affair' had caused all Canadians to study seriously how defenceless would be their province should we be forced into war with the United States. Hitherto the people of Canada had been too prone to rely upon England for protection. The first step towards the reorganization of the Canadian militia was to obtain the services of a thoroughly able soldier to organize and command it. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge wisely selected General Patrick MacDougall for this duty, and no better selection could have been made. He was very able, highly educated as a soldier in his profession, and was gifted with the most charming, the most fascinating manner towards all men—by no means a poor recommendation for any one who has to get on well with politicians. He had also the great advantage of knowing Canada and its good people thoroughly, from having formerly served there many years. No man knew better than General MacDougall the difference there is between the educated officer and the ordinary amateur in uniform, and the best of the Canadian militia soon came to recognize their new commandant's military worth, and the value of the new system he introduced. It was, however, very uphill work, for he never could induce Canadian ministers to supply him with the funds required to start schools of instruction upon an adequate scale. There is no idle or 'leisured' class in any part of Canada. Every one has to work there, and it is not easy for the hard-toiling man in any office to spare even a few hours per week for the study and practice of the military arts and science. Colonel MacDougall began the heavy task before him by the creation of an efficient militia staff, and of military schools at every station where we had regular troops. At these schools militia officers were to be taught, and young Canadian gentlemen rendered fit for the position of officers. After these schools had been a season at work, he collected those who had qualified at them in a camp he formed at the old disused barrack of Laprairie, which is south of the St. Lawrence river, near Montreal. He asked me to be its commandant, and, always anxious for any interesting employment, I gladly accepted the offer. These cadets were formed into two battalions, one of Upper, the other of Lower Canadians, and two excellent officers of the Canadian militia were selected to command them. The more drill they were given the more they enjoyed their camp life. I may say, that it was at the Laprairie camp nearly all the best militia officers of that generation were drilled and given some practical knowledge of military duties. . . . . I liked all those men I met at this camp, and thoroughly enjoyed my life there. General the Hon. James Lindsay—a first-rate soldier and a most charming man—who was then commanding our troops in the Quebec province, helped me much, and took a deep interest in my work. He marched the Montreal garrison of infantry and field artillery to Laprairie, and with my two battalions of cadets we had an instructive field day, which my embryo warriors thoroughly enjoyed. I refer thus to this Laprairie camp, because it was the birthplace of the very fine Canadian militia force with which I was subsequently intimately associated, and because it was, I think, the first practical effort made to convert the excellent

military material Canada possesses so abundantly, into useful soldiers. A considerable number of those trained at Laprairie subsequently accompanied me in the expedition I led in 1870 from Lake Superior to the Red River, and no commander could wish to have better soldiers than those of the two Canadian militia battalions who constituted the bulk of the brigade I then had with me."

The excitement of the Fenian Raids of 1866 gave a great impetus to the volunteer force, which, by its ready response to the call to actual service, and by its really good work in the field, asserted its claim to be considered the first line of defence of the country.

The first call upon the national defensive force was made November 15th, 1865, when a militia general order was issued calling out one volunteer company for active service in each of the following places:—Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Morrisburg, Toronto, Port Hope, Hamilton, Woodstock and London. The order explained that "His Excellency, having had under consideration the possibility of raids or predatory invasions on the frontier of Canada during the winter, and being impressed with the importance of aiding Her Majesty's troops and repelling such attempts," had decided to place a portion of the volunteer force on active service.

Several calls for service detachments were made during the year 1866, to furnish guards for armouries, to hold strategical points along the frontier, etc.

The expectation of trouble from the Fenians this year had good effect upon the militia force, and during the three months of March, April, and May the nominal strength of the active militia increased from 19,597 to 33,754. Meantime the Fenian leaders had not been inactive, and four simultaneous descents upon Canada had been planned, one from Chicago, the second from Buffalo and Rochester, the third from Ogdensburg, and the fourth from New York, Troy, and Albany. May 29th, telegraphic advices to the public press reported parties of men on the move northward from points even as far south as Tennessee. Subsequent reports showed that the movement had become general, and the government's private reports confirmed them. During the evening of the 31st, orders were issued at Ottawa for the calling out of four hundred of the Toronto militia, and their despatch to Port Colborne on Lake Erie. The following morning news of the crossing of O'Neil's force of Fenians to Fort Erie was received, and orders were at once issued for the despatch of all available troops to the Niagara frontier to protect the Welland Canal, and expel the invaders from Canadian soil if possible. The Queen's Own Rifles, the 13th Battalion, the York and Caledonian Companies and the Welland Canal Field Battery, armed as riflemen, formed a force of about nine hundred strong at Port Colborne at the head of the canal, the point of that work nearest to Fort Erie, the Fenian base. The senior officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Booker of the 13th. At Chipewa was assembled on the morning of June 2nd a force composed as follows:—Field Battery Royal Artillery, 200 of H.M. 16th Regiment, 350 of H.M. 47th Regiment, the 10th Royals and the 19th Battalion of St. Catherines; all told about sixteen hundred men, of whom six hundred were regulars. Having secured the head of the canal and the bridges over Chipewa Creek or Welland River, Colonel Peacocke, commanding H.M. 16th Regiment, and the senior officer at the front, issued orders for the junction of the two forces at Stevensville. This movement resulted in the action of Lime Ridge or Ridgeway, and the fighting at Fort Erie which followed.

By the Third none of the Fenian force remained on Canadian soil except as prisoners. A few days later a couple of incipient raids were made across the Vermont frontier of Canada East, upon the last occasion a minor skirmish taking place near Pigeon Hill, between the raiders and a force consisting of the Fourth Battalion, 60th Rifles and a Montreal volunteer cavalry corps, the Royal Guides.

The Sandfield Macdonald Government had been defeated March, 1864, and the Tache-John A. Macdonald Government was formed on the 30th of that month. July the third, 1866, the new government through the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney General, presented a bill to amend the Militia Act, which passed, and was assented to as 29 and 30 Victoria Chapter XII "An Act to Amend an Act respecting the Volunteer Militia Force."

This Act repealed the restriction that the volunteer force should not exceed 25,000, the number being left to the discretion of the government, and gave to the Commander-in-Chief more extended authority to call out the volunteer force, he having no right under the Act, as it stood, to call out the force except "in case of war, invasion, or insurrection." The organization of mounted infantry, mounted rifles, military train, commissariat, staff, hospital and ambulance corps, and also naval companies, was provided for. In cities, no infantry units smaller than a battalion were to be accepted or gazetted as "Volunteer Militia," and the establishment of troops of cavalry, batteries of garrison artillery and companies of infantry was fixed at one captain, two lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals and 48 privates. An important provision, and one much objected to in parliament was that municipalities might spend their funds in support and encouragement of the Volunteer Force, for the building of armor-

ies, the care of the families of volunteers on service, etc., etc. Municipal by-laws for raising and expending such monies were subject to disallowance by the Minister of Militia. Section 8 provided that the Volunteer Force should be subject to the Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army, and while on Active Service to the Rules and Articles of War and to all other laws applicable to Her Majesty's troops except that no man should be subject to any corporal punishment except death or imprisonment.

During the same session that this Act was passed the sum of $134,060 was voted for the purchase and maintenance of the gunboats it had been found necessary to place upon the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, at the time of the Fenian Raids. An item of $250,000 to purchase improved fire arms for the volunteers was also passed, and one of $36,880 for departmental salaries. The staff provided for was an Adjutant General, two Deputy Adjutant Generals, four Assistant Adjutant Generals, a Superintendent of Military Schools, a Military Surveyor, Provincial Aide-de-Camp, etc. The opposition having objected to the large increase of the staff, a letter from Colonel MacDougall, the Adjutant-General, was read in which he asserted "it is utterly impossible to work advantageously in time of pressure, with departments suddenly created for the emergency, and without experience. If departments are expected to work well in time of war they must be created and gain experience of routine duties, and have at their command all the knowledge and appliances in times of peace, which they would have to bring to bear in time of war."

For some time after the withdrawal of the militia from the frontier, Fenian agitators continued to display considerable activity in the border cities of the United States and, as a matter of precaution, the military authorities decided to form, on August 14th, a camp of observation under the command of Colonel Wolseley, now Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, at Thorold, on the Welland Canal. The force in this camp consisted of the Governor-General's Body Guard of Toronto, one wing of H.M. 16th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Hoste's Field Battery, Royal Artillery, three or four battalions of militia infantry, and a troop of cavalry. The infantry battalions were relieved every ten days, the time in camp being used to put in the customary annual drills. The men received a dollar a day pay, and free rations.

Between the spring of 1866 and the end of the year the volunteer force of Ontario and Quebec increased from 348 companies, with a nominal strength of 19,597 men, to 569 companies with a nominal strength of 33,754 men.

Great inconvenience was experienced during this year from the fact that the force consisted for the most part of isolated companies; the volunteers of the principal cities having been alone formed in battalions. Thus, when in the spring a sudden call was made for the service of the whole force, it became necessary to form the isolated companies into provisional battalions, and to appoint a provisional staff to each battalion in a hurry, and at an obvious disadvantage. The adjutant-general therefore obtained the authority of the commander-in-chief to form the isolated companies into permanent battalions with permanent commanding and staff officers. This was effected, wherever possible, by forming the isolated companies into battalions by counties.

The force was, in the autumn of 1866, told off into field brigades and garrisons of posts, and an arrangement for combining in the most useful manner the action of the force with the regular troops was made by the lieutenant-general commanding. This arrangement, originally suggested by Lieutenant-Colonel Earle, was as follows:—

The nucleus of each field brigade consists of one regular regiment, and its composition was as follows:—Regular infantry, 1 battalion; volunteer infantry, 3 battalions; artillery, 1 field battery (regular or volunteer); cavalry, 1 troop (volunteer).

The staff of each brigade was as follows:—Commandant, brigade major, commissariat, engineer officer, surgeon in charge, regular officers; mounted provost, a regular sergeant; assistant brigade major, volunteer officer; assistant commissary, with as many aids as may be necessary, volunteer officers or N.C. officers.

Of these brigades three were formed in Western Canada, four in Eastern Canada. The component corps and brigade staff were detailed, and the points of assembly fixed. The staff officers were provided with a list of the stores which were required to enable each brigade to take the field, and would draw them from the storekeepers who had orders to issue them on the shortest notice. Similarly the commissariat officer of each brigade was prepared to provide the necessary transport to enable it to move at the shortest notice. Those volunteer corps which did not form part of the above moveable columns were formed into brigades by districts, of which each had its volunteer commandant and brigade major.

These corps were to be employed in garrison duty, in guarding frontier towns and villages, and important points on the lines of canal or railroad communication. The duties of the commandant and brigade major were to organize a system of lookout parties and patrols suited to the localities; and to visit constantly all the posts within their respective brigade districts.

During the period of active service by the volunteer force in the summer of 1866, much inconvenience was occasioned by the inexperience of the officers and men generally, and by the absence of specific instructions for their guidance, and by His Excellency's command the adjutant-general prepared and circulated a code of regulations for the volunteer militia.

In his annual report at the end of this year the adjutant-general drew attention to the disadvantage each militia unit was under owing to the absence of a properly paid battalion staff. In order that a battalion should be efficient, he considered it indispensable that it should be provided with an adjutant and sergeant-major, who should give up their whole time to their military duties.

The apprehension of further hostile intentions by the Fenians, which existed generally along the frontier of Canada during the spring of 1867, led to the adoption of measures of precaution. Three thousand Peabody breech-loading rifles were purchased by the government; and these, together with four thousand five hundred Spencer repeating rifles which were at the disposition of the government, were distributed to the volunteer corps in the localities most exposed to attack; that is to say, generally along the frontier from Lake Memphremagog, on the east, to London on the west. In addition, the whole of the Montreal brigade was supplied with the Westley-Richards breech-loading rifle from the imperial stores. The corps which were supplied with these new weapons were ordered to drill twice every week to accustom the volunteers to their use, which they did accordingly between the 20th March and the 30th June, 1867. These were later exchanged for the Snider rifle, and the adjutant-general had the satisfaction to report at the end of the first year of Confederation that 30,000 of these rifles were then in the hands of the volunteers of Ontario and Quebec.

The adjutant-general this year recommended that the garrison artillery should receive special instruction, and that at least two eighteen-pounder guns should be supplied to each garrison artillery corps. In order to ensure the efficiency of this most important arm, it was, in the opinion of the adjutant-general, indispensable that one deputy and one assistant adjutant-general of artillery should be appointed to superintend the organization of the artillery force of the Dominion, who should have obtained the rank of lieut.-colonel in the Royal Artillery, and would thereby bring to the service of the country that knowledge of all the details of artillery science which none but an educated artillery officer could possess.

The schools of military instruction, established in connection with the service militia of the Province of Canada, and in operation at Confederation, were four in number, established respectively in the cities of Quebec and Montreal, in the Province of Quebec; and Kingston and Toronto, in the Province of Ontario; and the adjutant-general in his annual report expressed his high sense of the efficient manner in which the duties of instruction had continued to be performed by the respective commandants and staff.

In addition to these schools, two schools of gunnery, one at Montreal and the other at Toronto, as also a cavalry school in the latter city, had been temporarily formed, and were in operation, affording every facility to officers and non-commissioned officers of militia, and candidates for commissions therein, to acquire a knowledge of the duties connected with those arms of the service. The adjutant-general recorded his acknowledgements to Colonel Anderson and to Lieut.-Colonel Pipon, of the Royal Artillery, and to Colonel Jenyns, of the 13th Hussars, for the able, indefatigable, and kindly manner in which they had carried out the instruction of the graduates in the schools committed to their superintendence.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARITIME PROVINCE MILITIA

CONFEDERATION brought the militia forces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into the militia of the new Dominion of Canada.

The French attempted to occupy Nova Scotia in 1598, and again the following year. In 1605, a French colony was established there, and was the first actual settlement by Europeans within the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada. In 1621, Nova Scotia was annexed to Scotland and named Nova Scotia by James I, and in 1625 the Scottish Order of Baronets was founded. Nova Scotia was ceded to France by Charles I, whereupon Richelieu formed a colonization company to colonize the country. It was conquered by Lord Protector Cromwell. Again ceded to France, it remained really, or nominally, under France till ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713.

Halifax was founded in 1749, at the expense of the Imperial Government, under the direction of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and was named in compliment to George Montague, Earl of Halifax, under whose immediate auspices the settlement was undertaken. The scheme for a settlement on the shores of Chebucto Bay is said to have originated with the people of Massachusetts, who, in calling the attention of the British Government to the claims of the French on the territory of Acadia, suggested the necessity of, as well as the great commercial advantage, to be derived from such an undertaking. A plan was submitted to government in the autumn of 1748, and was warmly supported by Lord Halifax. Parliament voted £40,000, and supplied 13 transports and a sloop of war, by which Colonel the Hon. Edward Cornwallis, designated Captain-General and Governor of Nova Scotia, his suite, and 2,576 settlers, were conveyed to the bay.

The Halifax colonists were largely of a military class, and the colony was really established as a military post, so that from the first British occupation there may be said to have been a British militia organization in the province. The French maintained a militia organization among the Acadians, particularly in Cape Breton, until the capture of Louisburg, and their desperate services on behalf of the Bourbon cause are recorded in history.

Nova Scotia militiamen served under Monekton and Winslow in 1755, when they captured the French fort Beausejour, some Halifax companies serving in this expedition claiming to have been in existence since 1749 or 1750.

It is interesting to observe that according to Dr. James Johnson (Alphabet of First Things in Canada) the first suggestion of Confederation as applicable to British North America as at present founded, is to be found in a report made by Colonel Robert Morse, R.E., who was sent in 1783, at the instance of Sir Guy Carleton (then commander of His Majesty's forces in North America), to report on the military defences required for Nova Scotia. In his report (1784) Colonel Morse says: "In the course of this examination my mind has been strongly impressed with the idea of uniting these provinces of Canada to the advantage of both, since by establishing the same laws and inducing a constant intercourse and a mutual interest, a great country may yet be raised up in North America."

The first attempt to form a regular force in what is now Canada was in 1792, when the King authorized

the raising of a regiment in each of the provinces, and permitted them to take the title of "Royal." The raising of the Royal Canadian Volunteers has already been referred to. The first of these regiments to be raised, however, was the Royal Nova Scotian Regiment, which, by June, 1793, was complete. Its officers were men of considerable means, and they served without pay. They led the way in obtaining the desired distinctive "Royal," title as is seen in the fact that Sir John Wentworth, in December, 1793, returned thanks for the permission to use the word "Royal." About the same time a Royal New Brunswick and a Royal Newfoundland Regiment were raised.

In a letter dated Halifax, October 12, 1799, the Duke of Kent wrote to his friend, Major Louis de Salaberry: "His Majesty has thought proper to make it known that he would be pleased if all the provincial regiments would offer to serve in all the American colonies, in place of being confined to the one whose name they bear. In consequence of accepting this offer they would be placed on the establishment as the Fencibles are in England and as is the Newfoundland—that is to say the officers would rank through all North America the same as they do at present in their respective provinces, and the adjutants and quartermasters would be sure of half pay in case of reduction, and the regiments would be commanded by officers taken from the line who would be proprietors. I believe it is the intention of forming a brigade of Canadians after the manner of the 60th, of which the commander-in-chief of the troops in North America would be colonel, as the Duke of York is of the 60th. The proposition has been made already to the Nova Scotian and New Brunswick Regiments, and both have expressed in the most loyal manner their willingness to serve wherever His Majesty may think proper."

In August and September of 1802, the several provincial regiments were disbanded, Governor Wentworth, of Nova Scotia, writing on 11th October that the disbanded men of the Royal Newfoundland and Royal Nova Scotian Regiments were all quietly dispersed through the province. The Royal New Brunswick Regiment later became the 104th Regiment.

During the long war with France the Nova Scotia militia were embodied, armed and drilled and used for garrison duties.

Lieut.-Governor Wentworth wrote to H. E. Major-General Clarke, 8th May, 1793:—"Brig'r-General Ogilvie has, no doubt, reported to your excellency the reduced state of this garrison. The harbor is also without a ship of war. In the town I have 700 good militia, who may be depended upon. One company, about 60 freeholders, are formed into artillery, and are now practising with great assiduity, under the instructions of the detachment of Royal Artillery in this garrison. It will be necessary to furnish the militia with arms from the King's stores, as there are not any to be had in the province. I have another select regiment of 1,000 men, commanded by half-pay officers, and composed of privates, most of whom served under these officers during the late war. They have two companies of artillery and one troop of horse, and can be assembled at Halifax in six day's notice—part of them sooner. The King's Nova Scotia Regiment, raising under my command, exceed 100 men, now in garrison."

June 4th, Mr. Wentworth stated to Mr. Dundas that the town militia were nearly six hundred strong, completely armed from H.M. Ordnance office. There was also an artillery company, 56 men, chiefly merchants and freeholders, who were daily exercised. Many of them had served in the army.

Three distinct corps of militia were enrolled in the western portion of the province, viz., the regiment raised by Colonel Barclay—one under Colonel Millidge, and a body of Acadians, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Taylor.

July 19.—H.M. frigate Boston appeared off Halifax harbor to procure a pilot for the American coasts, upon which Brigadier-General Ogilvie, then commanding the troops, ordered the signals of alarm to be made. On this, the King's Nova Scotia Regiment were in a few minutes paraded, and the first battalion of Halifax militia assembled, completely armed, in fifteen minutes, before Government House. This is stated by Governor Wentworth, in a letter of July 23, to Mr. Dundas, the Secretary of State. He added: "In case of any invasion of this town, it will, in twenty minutes, put under the command of Brigadier-General Ogilvie, 900 militia, in two hours to be reinforced with 600, being, the second battalion, who reside a few miles round the town, and these as fast as possible by the militia legion of Nova Scotia, consisting of 1,000 effective men, commanded by Colonel Barclay, and other respectable officers, upon half-pay."

Of the Halifax militia artillery, he wrote: "Among the privates are men of from £100 to £600 per annum, clear, estate, who, from a declared principle of loyalty, and utter abhorrence of French democratic tyranny, have voluntarily offered their services." He considered the militia everywhere well disposed and faithful. On emergency, he reckoned on 4,000 of them to join him, and in an extreme case 2,000 more. He estimated the whole force of the country at 9,160 men. He requested arms for Barclay's legion. The people of the harbours on the Atlantic coast were ready to assist in defence.

October 9th, 1795, on intelligence as to the French fleet at New York preparing and being nearly ready for sea, and that they were supposed to be destined for Halifax or the fisheries, the lieutenant-governor, General Ogilvie and Commissioner Duncan united in opinion that Halifax was in danger, and that the country militia should be brought to town, and the council approved of the measure. Governor Wentworth issued orders for 1,000 men to be marched from the regiments of Hants, King's and Annapolis counties to Halifax, with all possible despatch. General Ogilvie promised all the unoccupied barrack room, and the lieut.-governor stated to Mr. Dundas, October 10, that nearly 400 could be lodged in the place he had proposed for the French prisoners from St. Pierre, (Melville Island). About 105 effectives, exclusive of officers, marched into town with all possible speed and alacrity. Mr. Wentworth wrote: "Perhaps a finer body of athletic, healthy young men, were never assembled in any country, nor men more determined to do their duty."

One company, under Captain Willet, marched from Granville to Halifax, performing 135 miles in 35 hours. Of the French Acadians, 75 youths came near 20 miles, zealous and gratified to unite with the English colonists. The behaviour of the militia while in Halifax was unexceptionable. Colonel Barclay, the adjutant-general, came with his men, and declined any pay. The lieutenant-governor commended him, Colonel Van Cortlandt, of King's county, and Lieut.-Colonel Howe and Colonel Brymer, of Hants. The militia and regulars at the capital amounted, as it was computed, to near 4,000 men. Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth, finding that the French armament had left the American coast on the 9 October, and were believed to be on their way to Newfoundland, and the apprehension of their attempts on Nova Scotia ceasing as the season passed, on 31st October called the council together, and stated to them his intention to send the militia to their homes, in which the council concurred. He accordingly, on November 2, published his thanks to them for their prompt obedience and good conduct, and dismissed them after a garrison service of about four weeks. The last division marched off on November 8. The expense of this service was paid by the British Government, Mr. Wentworth drawing bills on the Lords of the Treasury for £4,597 sterling to cover the pay, subsistence and contingencies of the militia.

July, 1799, 1,000 militia were embodied for service in the Halifax garrison. In addition, 2,000 more select men were under orders to come in on the shortest notice in case of any attempt to be made by the enemy. The Duke of Kent requested that another battalion should be embodied and called into the garrison, but Sir John Wentworth was unwilling to accede to it, and remonstrated with him by letter, shewing the ill effects it would produce upon the people and their agriculture. The embodied militia were discharged 24 October

In a letter to Captain Fenwick, 17th February, 1800, the Lieutenant-Governor estimated the militia of the province at 10,000 effective men, and said he thought, in case of invasion, that 6,000 more would be found able and disposed to serve.

Nova Scotia having suffered very severely in the early part of the war from the cruisers of the enemy, fitted out a number of privateers in order to retaliate on, and to extort compensation from the foe. Within four years, twelve or fifteen ships of war were fitted out by the Nova Scotians, and of this number one half were owned by the little village of Liverpool.

Lieut.-Governor Wentworth at all times gave much attention to the militia of the province. They were but scantily supplied with arms. Many of his letters remain, requesting of the generals who commanded in the garrison supplies of muskets—40 for one company, and 20 or 30 for another. In 1805, there were three battalions of Halifax militia. Of these, the companies of Captains Morris, Bremner, and Fillis had volunteered, (the law requiring only 4 days duty in the year). Fillis commanded 60 men, who had begun their artillery exercise. Captain McIntosh's company were to do duty at York redoubt, being fishermen, living near it. Sir John suggested their being instructed on Sunday afternoons, as they were generally employed in their boats in the week. There were companies of artillery in other militia regiments who had been instructed by men from the force who had been discharged and settled in the province. One company of 40 men, under Captain Thompson, resided near Chester.

In 1807, every exertion was being made in Nova Scotia by the Governor, Generals Hunter and Skerret, Admirals Berkeley and Cochrane, in anticipation of an American war. The 98th Regiment and the Newfoundland Fencibles were sent to Quebec by order from England. 1,000 militia were placed in garrison in their stead; and in October, on the request of Major-General Skerret, 500 more were drafted from the country to strengthen the place. By the 26th October, part of the reinforcements of militia had come in. Halifax militia were working on the fortifications. Admiral Berkeley designed to employ 140 men, accustomed to boats and vessels, in gun brigs, for defence; and Mr. Monk was directed to secure the aid of the Micmacs. Two companies of militia (150 men, under good and well-informed officers, well clothed) trained and skilful, were frequently exercised in the

batteries to which they were attached. In the other militia regiments there were at least 150 more good artillery men, and a company of 50 free blacks was also engaged.

December 26, 1808, Major-General Hunter, by letter, requested that 1,000 militia should be immediately embodied, 200 to be stationed at Annapolis, and 800 at Halifax, and a further 1,000 got ready to be called into service on the shortest notice. This (December 29), the lieutenant-governor and council agreed to do.

These regiments of militia were in February, 1809, embodied in Nova Scotia, and employed in actual service. It was proposed to have one troop of light horse, in number 35 officers and men, who should find their own horses. The artillery (militia) could at this time furnish 124 men, capable of assisting the regulars either in batteries or with field pieces. The town militia mounted guards in rotation, being only paid when on actual duty. The whole trained force reliable, was 1,800 men, and great harmony prevailed between them and H. M. regular troops. (Sir F. Wentworth's letter of March 26 to Lord Castlereagh.)

On April 18, the militia was estimated at 9,000 men, and it was decided to call the assembly together on May 19, to amend the militia laws. The effective force of the militia in Nova Scotia, the Governor considered, would not exceed 3,000 men—in New Brunswick, 700. Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island together could furnish 400. The Governor wrote at this date:—"Hitherto the male population composed the militia. It was rather a levee en masse, of which one-third only will be called out for training and instruction."

The Assembly in their session this year thanked the Imperial Government for "the supply of arms, clothing and camp equipage, so graciously granted, for the use and accommodation of our militia."

Saturday, June 18, 1808, the Lieutenant Governor informed a committee of the house that "in addition to 2,000 stand of old arms and accoutrements now in H.M. stores, he will order the issue of 2,000 stand of new arms and accoutrements" just arrived, on a pledge from the house that it would, at its next session, make provision for the payment for such arms, the price of new arms to be estimated at the Tower prices, and the old at reasonable rates, also promising to apply for as many more as might be required to complete arming the militia on a similar pledge. The assembly accordingly, June 20, resolved to pay for all arms and ammunition which should be issued for the use of the militia. Several inspecting field officers of militia (regular officers) were employed and paid this year.

Thursday, June 23, Sir George Prevost closed the session, thanking the house for the militia laws they had passed, &c., and prorogued the assembly. Although the new militia law was a great improvement, he considered it very defective still, which he ascribed "to the jealously manifested against measures emanating from government, and to a tendency to democracy, imbibed from our neighbours."

Sunday night, June 28, 1812, a messenger, with despatches from General Hunter, who commanded in New Brunswick, with intelligence of the declaration of war, arrived at a late hour at Halifax. His Excellency held a council at 10 a.m. on Monday, and the intelligence was then made public. The Lieutenant Governor ordered the first class of the militia (able-bodied men from 18 to 50) to be ballotted from, for service, and a proportion in each district to be at once embodied, to protect the most exposed parts of the coast, as he could not spare regulars for the purpose. He also directed a few guns to be mounted at the entrance of some of the most exposed harbours, to be used against the depredations of privateers; and where there were suitable boats to carry them, he sent small guns.

The assembly met Tuesday, July 21, (10th assembly, 2nd session.) It was convened on account of the war, and His Excellency requested it, in his opening speech, to make provision for the extra pay allowed by the provincial statute to the militia. (Act 1808, sec. 56, which directed the militia, when embodied, to have same pay and allowances and the same rations as regulars. Sec. 57 fixed the pay of sergeant, per day, at 2s.; corporal, trumpeter, drummer or fifer, 1s. 6d.; private man, 1s.) He also called for provision to be made for such other expenses as the security of the province demanded.

The house voted £8,000 for block-houses, temporary work, arming boats, telegraph, &c.; £12,000 for extra pay to militia, now to be embodied; £10,000 for a further force embodied, if found necessary; 7s. 6d. a day each to clerks of paymaster and adjutant-general of militia; £150 for carriage of arms; £40 stationery and printing, and £120 for medical attendance on embodied militia. They also resolved to borrow £30,000, at 6 per cent., for defences. (Burdock's History of Nova Scotia).

Interest in the militia was kept up even after the close of the war. A bill providing for the reduction of the force was discussed at some length during the session of 1819. A longer term of service seems to have been advised by the governor. Several members dissented.

Mr. Haliburton observed, that during the American war no inconvenience was felt in the existing system, and he thought it strange that in time of peace they should find difficulties that did not exist then. It appeared from the plan, that they were to take a part of the first class and enrol them for the term of seven years. If it was necessary to drill them so frequently now, how happened it that it was not necessary in time of war? One quarter of the militia, he believed, were labourers, and when they arrived at the age of twenty-one they removed to different places, and it would be found necessary to have recourse to continual drafts to supply their places.

Mr. Mortimer doubted whether the province had any militia at all, for all the service required of them was to turn out three days in the year,; approved of the plan as far as the staff officers were concerned, but not of a reduction of the battalions proposed.

Colonel William Dickson, member for Truro, stated that he was not able to comprehend His Excellency's views on the subject, particularly as regards the reduction of the battalions. His Excellecy seemed to think the offices of quartermaster-general and adjutant-general of militia were not of much use towards rendering the force more efficient, and that both offices might be executed by one person. This amendment, he thought, was a very proper one. During the late war, he said, there were three inspecting field officers, for the Western, Eastern and Middle districts respectively.

Mr. Roach (of Cumberland) moved that a committee be appointed to report what amendments were necessary to be made to the existing militia law, which motion was adopted and passed by the house. On this, a committee of eleven members was named. This committee advised, next day, to alter the age of enrolment, to be from 18 to 60, instead of 16 to 60; that the first class for service be from 18 to 40; to add one day for battalion meeting, and to provide for two inspecting field officers in place of the adjutant-general and quartermaster-general.

The oldest existing militia organizations in Nova Scotia at Confederation traced their origin back to the volunteer movement in Nova Scotia co-incident with the big volunteer movement in England.

Meetings were held in the city of Halifax during the autumn of 1859, and it was evident that the material for military organization was not confined to the old country. From the outset there was an inclination exhibited to organize by nationalists, and in December, 1859, English, Scotch, and Irish companies were formed, each keeping its particular national character. This had the effect of causing a healthy rivalry, that tended to keep up the interest and promote a pride in each company, and an interest by citizens who were unable to join the ranks as active members.

"Regulations and Orders" for the local forces of Nova Scotia, 1861, shew that the utmost freedom was allowed in the selection and appontment of commissioned officers, and in other matters connected with the formation of volunteer companies. The regular mode of proceeding was laid down. The commissioned officers were elected by the company, and a certificate, signed by the secretary and chairman of the meeting, that the candidate had a majority of the votes of the company, was all that was required by the adjutant-general, to entitle the applicant to a commission, provided, of course, there was no charge of disloyalty against him.

The volunteer force not only had the privilege of paying for their own clothing and accoutrements, but were allowed full liberty to select such styles and colors as the fancy of the members, or their financial resources, would allow. The result was a great want of uniformity, for, although the color generally selected was gray—that being considered most suitable in England—the shade of colour, quality of material, and style of facings were very different.

On the evening of April 16, 1860, a public meeting was held in Halifax, Earl Mulgrave, the governor, presiding. Earl Mulgrave, in his remarks, stated that there were at that time thirty-two effective volunteer companies in the Province, with a total strength of two thousand three hundred and forty-one (2341) men. In the city there were eleven (11) companies with a total strength of eight hundred and sixty-eight (868) men.

Major Egan's "History of the Halifax Volunteer Battalion," published in 1889, gives a full account of the development of the Nova Scotia volunteer force.

On the 24th of April the South Barrack (now the engineer barrack) yard, was handed over by the imperial authorities for a drill ground for the city companies, and drill instructors from the regiments in garrison were furnished, the companies having the use of the ground on alternate evenings; some of the companies also mustering on the Grand Parade for morning drill at 6.30 a.m.

On the 14th May, 1860, a meeting of representatives from the Volunteer Artillery, Scottish Rifles, Chebucto Greys, the Mayflower, Halifax, Irish and Victoria Rifles and Halifax Engineers, was held in Lieut. Halliburton's office. Col. Sinclair, Adjutant-General Nova Scotia Militia presided, and Lieut. Halliburton acted as secretary. On motion by Capt. Samuel Caldwell, Halifax Engineers, seconded by Lieut. Mackinlay, Scottish Rifles, it was resolved, "That the

Halifax Volunteer companies be formed into a battalion."

During the summer of 1860, the Government having granted an allowance of ball cartridges, the city companies proceeded to Point Pleasant range to go through their regular course of position drill and rifle practice. The "Scottish" and the "Greys" encamped on the ground, but the other companies marched down each day. Sixty rounds per man was the allowance, and the scores of the last twenty rounds, which were fired under the inspection of an officer, were returned to headquarters. For private practice the price of ammunition was £11 7s. 3d. per thousand, caps two shillings and eight pence half-penny per thousand. Among the regulations issued at this time from headquarters,was one allowing the sum of five pounds ($20) per company to provide armories, and one shilling and three pence (25 cents) per annum for the care of each stand of arms and accoutrements, and another which regulated the transfer of men from one company to another.

By a general order, dated May 3rd, 1862, Major J. W. Laurie (unattached) was appointed Inspecting Field Officer of the Volunteers and Militia of Nova Scotia, with the rank of colonel. The duties of inspecting officer had up to this time been performed by Col. Sinclair, in addition to the duties of adjutant-general. In June the volunteer battalion made an effort to secure the services of Capt. Milson, of the 62nd Regiment, as adjutant, the intention being to have a paid adjutant. The idea did not meet with the approval of Earl Mulgrave, but Captain Milson was soon after employed by the Adjutant-general, and in March, 1863, appointed as Inspecting Field Officer, with the rank of lieut.-colonel.

During 1862, great activity was displayed in reorganizing and enrolling the regular militia of the province. "The Regulations and Orders for the General Management and Guidance of the Volunteers and Militia" shewed that the militia of Nova Scotia, previous to the organization of the volunteer force, was in a very crude state, but, with the military spirit and training introduced by the Volunteer movement, a new state of affairs came about, and the regular militia was now organized. Previously there was no means of getting trained officers for that force, and the commissions were consequently held by men who were, from a military point of view, in many cases totally unfit for their position. From the volunteer companies competent men were now drawn by the offer of commissions in the regiments of militia and paid drill instruction being introduced, no excuse for non-efficiency was allowed. The Halifax battalion lost some of its best members at this time, the temptation of a commission in the militia taking many from its ranks. At one time it was in contemplation to form the counties into districts, and to place the militia in each under brigadiers.

During the fall of 1864, the subject of reorganization was taken up by the officers, the term of service for which the men had enrolled expiring in January, 1865. Quite a number of meetings were held, and application was made to the Commander-in-Chief to secure a grant from the government to assist the volunteers, the sum of five dollars per man being suggested, that being the amount allowed the volunteers in England and Canada. The uniform of the companies, which had now been in use for five years, requiring to be renewed, a committee of officers was appointed to consider the subject, and they recommended "Rifle green" as the most suitable color. This was adopetd by all the companies except the Scottish, this company continuing to wear their dark plaid clothing.

During the winter of 1866 overcoats were issued to the battalion by the government, and the long "Enfield" rifle (muzzle loader) which the battalion had used from its organization, was replaced by the short rifle and sword bayonet.

In March, 1866, the first Fenian scare took place. Rumors of an inroad by the Fenian Brotherhood from the United States caused considerable alarm, and the departure of an armed ship from New York, in a mysterious manner, seemed to point to Halifax as the scene of attack. The Halifax battalion was called out for active service, and each company told off to its post, the signal of alarm being three guns fired in succession from the citadel.

Although the fears of a Fenian invasion in March proved groundless, the result showed that there was some cause for alarm. In consequence of an inroad into Canada and the withdrawal of a portion of the garrison, the Halifax battalion was ordered out for duty. One hundred and fifty men, with the proper complement of officers, being detailed, in the following proportions:—The men were required to provide their own rations, and two men for fatigue were told off with each guard, whose duty it was to look after the provisions; as a rule the families of the men sent their meals ready cooked to the guard rooms. By the general order, dated July, 31st the battalion was relieved from garrison duty, having served from the 6th June. By this general order the thanks of the commander-in-chief were conveyed to the men, and a despatch from Earl Carnarvon expressing his approval of the services of the battalion was also published.

How the old Halifax battalion came to be called the 63rd in the Dominion active militia has never been satisfactorily explained, the regiment being really entitled to the third place in the roll of regiments of the Active Militia of Canada, it having had an unbroken existence since the 14th of May, 1860. The only other battalions senior in Canada were the 1st Battalion "Prince of Wales" Regiment, Montreal, organized November 1st, 1859, and the 2nd Battalion "Queen's Own," of Toronto, organized 26th April, 1860, eighteen days before the 63rd. (Major Egan's History of the Halifax Volunteer Battalion.)

As adjutant-general of the militia of Nova Scotia, Colonel R. Bligh Sinclair, December 31, 1867, reported on the provincial force, this report giving a good idea of the organization prevailing at and immediately prior to Confederation. The following extracts from this report are interesting on this account:—"The organization is the result of about six years' work, commencing first with the military instruction of volunteers and militia officers, the men not being called out till the latter were fit to instruct, in 1863. The whole available militia force has now been called out for five days' training for five successive years, and the result has been more favorable than anticipated from such a limited period of drill. By far the most valuable effect has been on the officers of the force, all of whom passed examinations in field exercise before receiving commissions, and besides had a good deal of training to qualify themselves to command. Officers promoted also passed the higher grades of examination. The adjutants all had to pass the highest grade of examination, as well as the commanding and field officers. Of 230 officers from the country, thoroughly trained at headquarters, during the last two years, a considerable proportion were adjutants of regiments.

"The Provincial Army List gives a fair idea of the state of the organization. Officers are nominated to serve, with acting rank, as cadets, until they pass the required examination for commissions. Hitherto these examinations have been limited to field exercise. Light infantry has been as yet little practised, as, irrespective of the body of the militia force being only lately armed to any considerable extent, five days only suffices for heavy drill. Light infantry was, however, taught to the officers trained at headquarters, and the regiments armed were trained in it to a limited extent, during the Fenian alarm."

"In several previous reports I have represented the good results which would be derived from establishing a reasonable amount of military instruction with prizes in all schools; far less training will have greater effect as soon as the benefits of early training begin to operate. The college at Windsor and the Normal School at Truro have adopted military training.

"It is my duty to represent to your Excellency that the annual five days' training of the whole force has now fully attained the object originally aimed at—the complete organization of the whole force of men of martial age for administrative purposes, and giving them a tolerable idea of parade, discipline and marching, while the more intelligent have gained an amount of military knowledge which would be useful if required.

"It affords me sincere pleasure to be able to report that nothing could exceed the willing and loyal spirit of the militia of Nova Scotia during the five years they have been called on to render gratuitous services, which must have been heavily felt.

"As the final returns are not complete at the date of commencing this report, I take the returns of 1866 as a base for remarking, that the aggregate training for that year (45,767 men for five days) was equivalent to 223,835 days. This is equal to training 5,720 men for six weeks.

"From drill experience, I can safely submit, that, with intelligent officers and men, six weeks' consecutive drill of five hours a day, per annum, is the most advantageous period of training.

"By a system of service men and reserves, the service would be relieved of much that now weighs on individuals with inconvenience, and no advantage to the service. For instance, during the constructive organization of the whole force, all under forty-five, had to be called out for drill at the same time, and business and private convenience had to suffer in a say that is now avoidable.

"Whatever be the periods of training hereafter, should it not conflict with general plans, I venture to recommend to your Excellency's consideration that this year, subject to such further orders as may be deemed expedient, the whole of the militia force of all arms, excepting those between the ages of 18 and 22 (attained), be formed into reserve, for muster only during peace.

"During the past season a good deal has militated against militia training. Amongst other things, unavoidable political excitement—which I need not further advert to—and a misconception raised in some districts that the militia law was suspended. The militia regiments, which from the above causes, and the advanced season, could not be called out, will be observed in returns.

"I have reason to notice that the amount of drill performed by the Halifax volunteer battalion under the militia staff, has been equal to former years.

"The volunteer artillery, and 1st, 2nd and 3rd brigades Halifax militia artillery, being inspected by

Lieut.-Colonel Hardy, and the 4th brigade by Lieut.-Colonel Sawyer, are in a good state of discipline and training. The volunteer artillery have learned the Armstrong gun exercise, having a battery of six of those guns.

"I have to note for your Excellency's consideration, Colonel Laurie's suggestion that volunteers be hereafter subsidized according to the year's work performed (shown by diaries), and their consequent efficiency."

Lieut.-Col. Laurie, Inspecting Field Officer, District C., remarked in his report:—"I feel it my duty again to bring to notice how desirable it would be that some acknowledgement should be made to effective officers of militia, who, often at considerable inconvenience, attend their annual 28 days' training, and carry out all the duties connected with the organization. I do not think it would be well to reduce the number of days' training required of them under the present system, and would again suggest that they obtain the same exemptions as effective volunteers, from whom far less duty is required.

"The volunteer companies were this year inspected with the regiments to which they are attached—thus gaining some knowledge of battalion drill. A system of classifying the volunteer companies so that their subsidy should be proportioned to their efficieney is most desirable; at present all, whether highly or indifferently trained, are classed under one rate.

"I am happy to state that in each county in this district a county rifle association has been formed, and competitions have been held, thus carrying the interest in rifle shooting much more home to the people."

The following figures give an idea of the efficiency of the Nova Scotia Militia at Confederation:—In 1866 the total first class enrolled were 58,031; in 1867, 59,147; increase, 1,116.

Total trained in 1866—first class, 45,767; 1867, first class, 41,997; decrease, 3,770.

Number of officers with substantive rank in 1867—Lieutenant-colonels, 110; majors, 171; captains, 797; 1st lieutenants, 268; staff, 274.

New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia in 1784, and had a militia force of its own, but resembling that of Nova Scotia.

During the war of 1812 a sort of neutrality was observed between the people of New Brunswick and their Maine neighbours

The Federal party, who were dominant in Massachusetts and Maine at this period, were openly adverse to the war; and the injuries done to commerce by the embargo, non-intercourse, and final war measures of the democratic government at Washington, were much resented. Governor Strong, refused to place any part of the state militia under the orders of the officers of the general government. President Madison then availed himself of an act of Congress, passed in February previous, which authorized him to accept the services of 80,000 volunteers from the different states; and General King, of Bath, (Kennebec), a violent democrat, was sent to Eastport to make arrangements for raising three regiments of volunteers, in the district of Maine. Conventions and meetings were held, and spirited resolutions passed in opposition to the general government.

As little as possible was done by the authorities of New Brunswick to antagonize their neighbours.

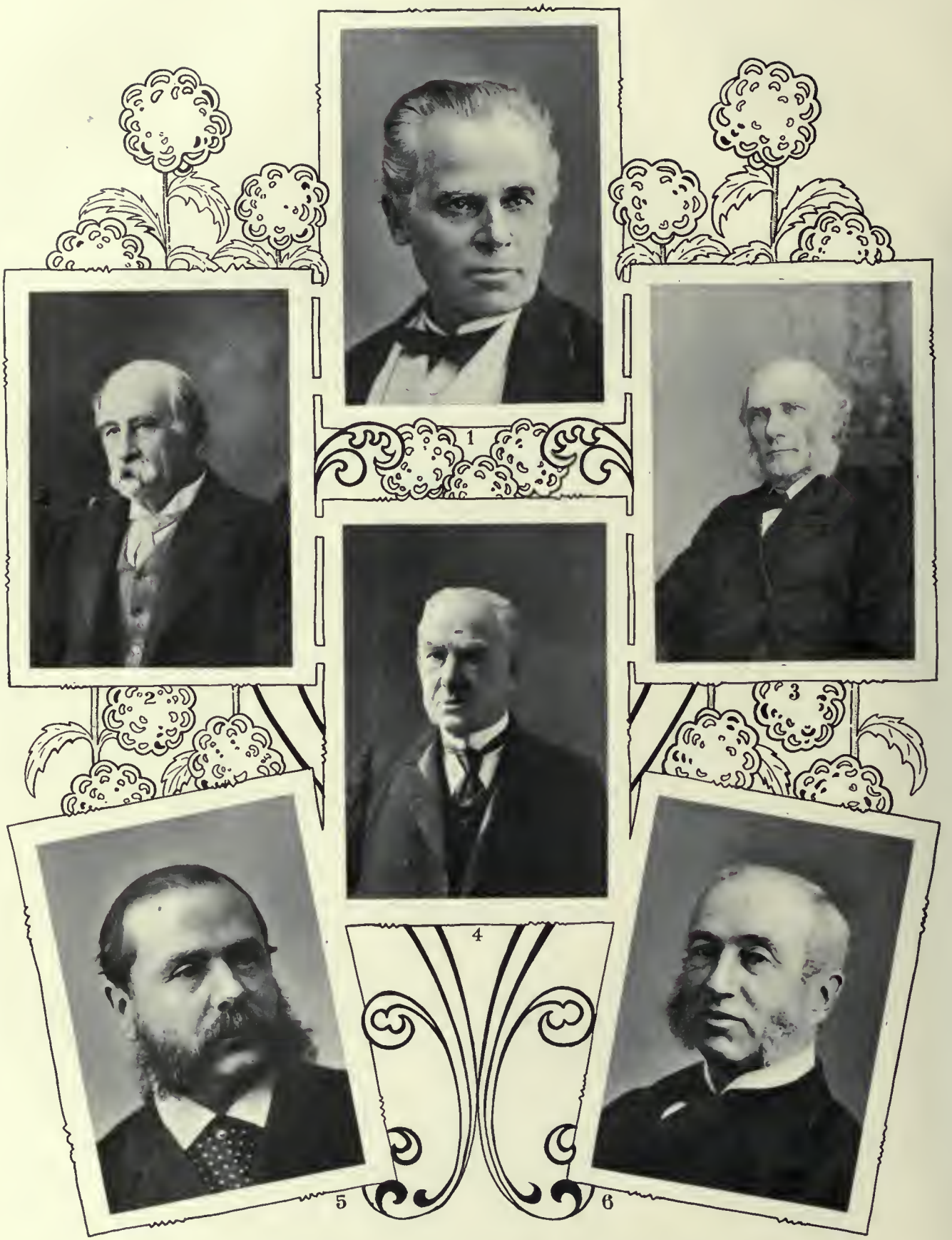
About the close of the year 1812, some field works, block-houses and batteries were begun for the defence of the city and river of St. John, in New Brunswick, and a permanent pentagonal work was proposed on the Washademoiac. Major General Smyth, who commanded in New Brunswick, and Sir John Sherbrooke differed in opinion about some of these fortifications, and Captain Nicolls, engineer, was sent to the River St. John in consequence.

The small military force in New Brunswick does not seem to have been reinforced from the declaration of war. On the contrary, the 104th Regiment was sent to Canada, while the 2nd battalion of the 8th remained in New Brunswick. The detachments of the 104th left St. John in February, and the people helped them with sleighs. Apprehension of invasion having made the people in New Brunswick uneasy, Sir John sent on ten 24-pounders for the batteries on Patridge Island, which commanded the entrance of the harbor of St. John, with ammunition and other requisites, and 1,000 stand of muskets, but the store ship Diligence, in which they were laden, was lost. She was separated from H.M.S. Rattler, her convoy, in a snow storm. It happened that 400 of the muskets were in the Rattler, and got safe to St. John, but the Diligent, and what was saved of her cargo, fell into the hands of the enemy. Sir John had no means of replacing these until more ordnance stores came from England.

In New Brunswick, the militia assisted the regulars in garrison duty, detachments from Westmoreland going to St. John, where the local militia were also embodied.

According to the New Brunswick revised statutes of 1854, the militia consisted of all white male inhabitants from 16 to 60. Each county was a battalion district and each regiment or battalion was to assemble one day in each year "for inspection and exercise," and to "rendezvous two days in each year for discipline," &c.

In 1862 a Militia Act, 25 Victoria, Chapter 20, was passed which divided the New Brunswick Militia into



MINISTERS OF MILITIA, 1867 to 1880

1. Sir George E. Cartier, July 1st, 1867 to May 20th, 1873.
2. The Hon. A. G. Jones, Jan. 21st, 1878 to Oct. 17th, 1878.
3. The Hon. Wm. B. Val, Sept. 30th, 1874 to June 1st, 1878.
4. The Hon. Wm. Ross, Nov. 7th, 1873 to Sept. 30th, 1874.
5. The Hon. L. R. F. Masson, Oct. 19th, 1878 to Jan. 16th, 1880.
6. The Hon. Sir Alex. Campbell, Jan. 16th, 1889 to Nov. 8th, 1880.

NOTE.—It was impossible to secure a satisfactory portrait for reproduction of the Hon. Hugh McDonald, Minister from July 1st, 1873 to Nov. 6th, 1873.

two classes:—Active Militia, men from 18 to 45 years of age, sedentary from 45 to 60. The Active Militia was divided into Class A (volunteer cavalry, artillery and riflemen); Class B (unmarried men and widowers without children); Class C (married men and widowers with children. Class A drilled for 6 days each year and was provided with ammunition at the expense of the province. Classes B and C were to be enrolled and muster one day in each year. The Sedentary Militia was not required to enroll regularly.

The following extracts from a report by Lieut.-Colonel George J. Maunsell, Adjutant General of New Brunswick Militia, dated January 1st, 1868, give an idea of the organization and work of the New Brunswick force just previous to and at Confederation:—

"The volunteers have hitherto been considered the 'advance guard' of the local forces, well drilled, as a rule, and when drilled every man is furnished with a uniform coat and cap by government; they attend a number of drills annually to entitle them to a capitation allowance, which is intended to provide for the proper care of the arms and accoutrements issued to them, but unhappily, in consequence of the absence of government drill sheds, this allowance is inadequate, and has frequently to be expended in obtaining insufficient accommodation for drill purposes in such buildings as are available, and officers commanding have had, at their own cost, to defray the other necessary expenses of their corps. Hence, I would remark, it is highly creditable that the volunteers retain the efficiency for which they have been justly commended. I must admit that, in some cases when volunteers serve their time of engagement, they appear unwilling to re-engage, and in consequence of the inability of the officers to recruit to the strength required by law, the service of the corps are dispensed with.

"It is not my intention to urge this as an argument against the voluntary system. I hold the opinion that each corps serves as a school of instruction on a small scale in its own district. The number of well-drilled officers the volunteers have furnished to the militia, proves the truth of my assertion; and as the services of one corps are dispensed with, another has been speedily organized, a knowledge of drill and military ardour being thus diffused over a large portion of the Province. I grant that under the existing law, which is admitted to be defective in many important particulars, and the consequent impossibility of success attending the organization of a corps in any but a thickly settled district, or town, there is a limit to the progress of the volunteer system, and although I can with truth state that our volunteers generally are in a satisfactory condition, probably that limit has been attained under the present system. I may state that the men composing the force are, as a general rule, taken but from one class of the community, all are engaged in industrial pursuits, and when the volunteers were called out on service during the past year, the absence of the men from the usual avocations was much felt.

"His Excellency General Doyle, being fully aware of the comparatively small numbers of available local forces, (1,800 volunteers, 500 home guards), of the defective law enabling him to call out the militia but for one day's muster, and the disadvantages under which the volunteers served, had it in contemplation to have a scheme for training the militia, in conjunction with the volunteers, laid before the legislature of this province at the last session, and which, while strengthening the volunteers as an 'advance guard,' was calculated to furnish a drilled 'support' of the remaining portion of the active militia, the sedentary to form the 'reserve.' I regret that (the union of the provinces intervening) His Excellency was prevented from carrying this scheme out."

"The militia is divided into two classes—active and sedentary: the former of these is subdivided into three classes, termed respectively class A, B, and C. The volunteers, or class A, of the active militia consists of cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry, and numbers 2,079."

"I may observe that there is not a government magazine in the province. His Excellency, Major-General Doyle obtained authority from the Imperial Government, to place ammunition, purchased for the militia, in Carleton Tower, Saint John, as a temporary measure, until a magazine be erected. There is but one militia store in the province (at Fredericton). Considerable sums are paid as rent for a building in which to store arms, accoutrements, and other government property, at Saint John."

"The furnishing of uniform, tunics and forage caps to 'effective' members of corps at government expense, has been a large item in the annual expenditure. The term 'effective' is, by law, applied to those who perform at least fifteen drills in each month. As none but effective members are provided with government uniform, another inducement is thus offered volunteers to attend drill regularly. I can bear testimony to the soldier-like appearance of the men at inspection parades. Many obtained uniformed trowsers at their own cost. As the supply of uniform for volunteers is limited, so is that system regarding it at present far from perfect."

"Scarcely a year has elapsed since the establishment of the Provincial Rifle Association by His Excellency Major-General Doyle, which, with the subsequent

formation of several county rifle matches in connection with the association, has been a complete success, and surpassed the expectations of the most ardent."

"By the provisions of the Militia Act passed on 31st May, 1865, classes B and C consist of all the male inhabitants of the province, (except class A and certain exempts) between the ages of 18 and 45; class B being unmarried men and widowers without children; class C, married men, and widowers with children."

"Your lordship being well aware that no advantage could accrue from the one day's muster of battalions, provided for in the existing law, was pleased to order it to be dispensed with. However, eight battalions had already mustered when your excellency's order was published. It is creditable to officers and men that the attendance at muster parades has been in any respect satisfactory, as the difficulty, if not impossibility, of enforcing obedience and collecting fines under a defective law, is such, that in cases of men absenting themseves from muster, and having escaped punishment by fine, a precedent is established, which has a tendency to increase the number of absentees, to diminish the power of commanding officers, and has an injurious effect as regards discipline. That the important classes of which I now treat, composed of young active men, the 'bone and sinew' of the community, should be only called upon under such a law, and such unsatisfactory circumstances, to contribute to the military strength of this province, is indeed to be regretted. It is true that the efforts made to instruct militia officers, and to drill a quota from every battalion at an annual camp, were accomplished with a view to facilitate a future system of training, and it cannot be doubted that these efforts have been attended with excellent results."

"The principles upon which the camp of instruction was based were in themselves admirable, and were in general terms:—

"1. That at least fifteen companies, consisting of 3 officers and 60 rank and file each, should assemble annually for 28 days at a specified time and place.

"2. The men to be drawn, by the voluntary system, in equal proportions from every battalion, or in such proportions as the commander-in-chief should deem expedient.

"3. Any officer commanding a battalion failing to furnish the required quota, must resort to the draft.

" The practical execution of these principles has been attended with many difficulties, amongst others were these:—

"In consequence of the limited funds placed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief, and the necessarily large sums required for the transport of those men who reside in distant parts of the province to and from camp, and for the erection or hire of a building in which to house the assembled force, either the course of drill had to be curtailed, or a smaller number of men called upon to attend than it was previously considered desirable to have at Camp.

"2. Although commanding officers were requested to select officers and men for duty at the camp who were residents in the province, and whose services would subsequently be available in imparting instruction to their respective companies, it was found that this selection was in some cases impracticable, as many men of this class failed to attend, the excuse being that absence from their homes and ordinary occupations for a lengthened period would be with inconvenience to themselves; and the vacancies their absence from camp caused, had necessarily to be filled from the so-called 'migratory class.' However, the draft was not resorted to in any instance. And it must be admitted that the camp of instruction has been the means of diffusing a good practical knowledge of drill throughout the province, and of shewing the system by which the interior economy of a battalion is conducted to those who otherwise would have no opportunity of obtaining such information."

"The only remaining class is the sedentary militia, comprising all male inhabitants of the province, with the same exceptions as classes B and C, between the ages of forty-five and sixty. They are attached to the battalions comprising the districts in which they reside, and are not called upon to muster, but should be carefully enrolled as Section 39 of the Act provides. A return of them has been made by the commanding officers of most battalions, but I cannot vouch for the accuracy of their numbers, which, as taken from the returns would amount only to 7,193."

The dress regulations of the New Brunswick militia, as per order dated April 7, 1863, provided for uniforms for the various arms similar to those of the British army.

CHAPTER VIII

MILITIA OF THE DOMINION

THE FIRST DOMINION MILITIA ACT AND AMENDING LEGISLATION.—THE FENIAN RAIDS OF 1870 AND 1871, THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONS, THE NORTHWEST REBELLION, AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—CANADA'S DEFENSIVE FORCE EMERGES FROM THE EXPERIMENTAL STAGE.

THE Confederation of the provinces, consummated in 1867, had, of course, a momentous effect upon the militia. As a matter of fact, the desire to provide an adequate system of national defence was one of the main motives which led to the adoption of the scheme of Confederation. For instance, we find that the Hon. John A. (later Sir John A.) Macdonald, in his speech in the United Canada Legislative Assembly February 6th, 1865, said:—"One of the great advantages of Confederation is that we shall have a united, a concerted and uniform system of defence. We are at this moment with a different militia system in each colony—in some of the colonies with an utter want of any system of defence. We have a number of staff establishments, without any arrangement between the colonies as to the means either of defence or offence. But under the union we will have one system of defence, and one system of militia organization. We will have one system of defence and be one people, acting together alike in peace and war."

At the time of Confederation there were 22,390 active militia maintained in the four originally confederated provinces, divided as follows:—Upper Canada 12,199; Lower Canada, 7,398; New Brunswick, 1,791; Nova Scotia, 1,002.

The "British North American Act" (30 and 31 Victoria, Chapter 3) gave the management and control of the militia during peace to the Dominion, which came into being on July 1st, 1867, but for some months thereafter the old provincial militia organizations were maintained pending the drafting and adoption of a militia act for the entire Dominion.

The first Dominion Militia Act, (31 Victoria, Chapter xl), entitled "An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of the Dominion of Canada," was assented to May 22, 1868.

During the year 1868, this Act was carried into effect, and the organization contemplated under its provisions, assumed a practical form. By that law the militia consisted:—

1. "Of all the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, and under sixty—not exempted or disqualified by law, and being British subjects by birth or naturalization," but Her Majesty might require all the male inhabitants of the Dominion, capable of bearing arms, to serve in case of a levee en masse:

The male population so liable to serve in the militia were divided into four classes:

The first class comprised those of the age of eighteen years and upwards, but under thirty years, who were unmarried, or widowers without children.;

The second class comprised those of the age of thirty years and upwards, but under forty-five years, who were unmarried, or widowers without children;

The third class comprised those of the age of thirty years and upwards, but under forty-five years, who were married, or widowers without children;

The fourth class comprised those of the age of forty-five years and upwards, but under sixty years;

And the above was the order in which the male population could be called upon to serve.

The militia was divided into active and reserve militia:—

The active militia consisted of the "volunteer militia," the "regular militia," and the "marine militia." The volunteer militia was composed of corps raised by voluntary enlistment. The "regular militia" was composed of men who voluntarily enlisted to serve in the same; or of men ballotted to serve; or of men who voluntary enlisted to serve with the ballotted men, and of men ballotted to serve. The marine militia was composed of seamen, sailors, and persons whose usual occupation was upon any steam or sailing craft, navigating the waters of the Dominion. The reserve militia consisted of the whole of the men who were not serving in the active militia at the time being.

The four provinces of which the Dominion was originally composed, were divided into nine military districts, viz.: one comprising the province of Nova Scotia, one comprising the province of New Brunswick, three in the Province of Quebec, and four in the province of Ontario. These nine military districts were divided into 22 brigade divisions, and again subdivided into regimental divisions.

The law provided for annual paid drills for 40,000 officers and men, in addition to the officers of reserve militia, for not less than eight nor more than sixteen days, the number being regulated by the money vote of Parliament each year. The men required for drill could be comprised entirely of volunteers, or if the required number was not furnished in that way in the several divisions, the men could be drawn from the reserve by ballot, subject to the exemptions, which were reduced to the minimum.

Ballotted men could be exempted, on providing a substitute, on payment of $30. If the substitute was drawn his principal had to supply his place.

Section 27 provided for the calling out of the militia in aid of the civil power.

Section 28 provided for the appointment of an adjutant-general of militia to be "a person educated to the military profession and who has attained the rank of field officer in Her Majesty's regular army." It was provided that the adjutant-general should be charged with the military command and discipline of the militia.

As, prior to the date of the union, the several Provinces had military forces organized under local laws, to bring these organizations under the direct authority of the Dominion, section 7 of the new law provided for their reorganization in the words following:—

"3. Every volunteer corps duly authorized previously to and existing on the day on which this Act shall come into force, including the officers commissioned thereto, shall for the purposes of this Act be held to be existing and shall be continued as such, subject to the provisions of this Act; and within three months after the day on which this Act shall come into force, all such corps shall be mustered by their captains or commanding officers, the provisions of this Act shall be explained to them, and such of the men as have not previously given notice of their desire to be discharged, shall take the oath hereinafter prescribed, and be enrolled as volunteer militia, and each man shall sign a muster roll; and thereafter such men of any volunteer corps, as complete three years, including any previous continuous service in the same corps immediately before such muster, or had served three years continuously in such corps immediately before such muster, and are discharged after giving the required notice, shall not be liable to be ballotted for any period of drill or training of the active militia, until all the other men in the first, second and third classes of militiamen in the company division within which they reside, have volunteered or been ballotted to serve."

The re-enrolment of the volunteer militia and the enrolment of the reserve militia, were carried on simultaneously.

In the volunteer force, as it stood on the 1st October, 1868, there were many men who had completed their periods of service, and others who did not desire to re-enrol. These men had the benefit accorded under the law for previous service, and the corps were permitted to enrol other men as volunteers to complete the strength in each instance to the regulated standard, or in the event of failure to maintain such complement of men as was considered necessary for efficiency. If any corps became inefficient, it was intended they should be disbanded, and others were raised in stead. The re-enrolment of the volunteer militia was highly satisfactory, and in addition to the old corps previously in existence, many new ones were added te the strength in parts of the country where no local organization had previous existence.

The Dominion Rifle Association was founded in 1868, Col. Botsford being the first President.

The number of the corps of active militia, with their

nominal strength as they stood at the end of the year 1868 was as follows:—

Ontario,	Total of all arms	21,816
Quebec,	do	12,637
New Brunswick,	do	1,789
Nova Scotia,	do	928
Dominion total		37,170

There appeared no doubt that the total authorized number of active militia could be raised and maintained by voluntary enrolment in the several provinces, in proportion as the population of each compared with the other. In Ontario the quota was complete at the end of the year, and in the other provinces the deficiences were being rapidly filled.

As regards the reserve militia, the following plan was contemplated by the law. The several regimental divisions, which with few exceptions were identical with the electoral divisions for representation by members of the House of Commons, were divided into company divisions, and the officers appointed thereto were resident within their company limits, thus securing to a large extent a personal knowledge of the men enrolled, and also being a guarantee that the ballot when called into use, would be conducted with fairness and impartiality.

The drill for 1868-69 was performed in the several provinces under orders and regulations having local application, and being based upon the old provincial laws. In the rural parts of Ontario and Quebec, the several battalions performed the days of annual drill in camp at their battalion headquarters. It was felt that these corps made up of companies (although within the same county), widely separated as regards distance, could not in any other way be instructed to act in concert. The vote of eight dollars per man was paid to each country corps for eight days drill in camp, the volunteers paying out of that sum the expense of the camp, and providing rations which amounted to from three to four dollars a man.

During the year, 2,000 circular tents complete, and 10,000 blankets were procured and added to the public stores; the linen tents from England, and the poles, pins, mallets and blankets manufactured in Canada.

It will be recalled that military schools for the practical training of officers, were originally established in the year 1864, after the apprehension of troubles arising out of the Trent affair. These schools were formed in connection with regiments of the regular army, at Quebec and Toronto, and to encourage candidates to apply for admission to these schools, gratuities of $50 were granted with both first and second-class certificates. The call was responded to from all parts, and candidates became so numerous that in the year 1865, four more schools were established, at Montreal Kingston, Hamilton and London. The two schools last named, failing to draw a sufficiently numerous attendance of cadets, were closed by the end of the year. The number of cadets who had up to 1870 been granted certificates by the several commandants (officers of the regular army), who had charge of the schools in Ontario and Quebec, exceeded 5,000, of whom 24 per cent. had taken first-class certificates. The whole of these cadets were distributed throughout the two Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and so continuous had been the applications from these provinces, that the number of cadets in Quebec only exceeds that of those from Ontario by eighty-eight. Quebec had the advantage of first class certificates, as during the period that gratuities were given for first class certificates, two were taken in Quebec for every one in Ontario.

In addition to those previously in existence, schools of military instruction for infantry were opened during the year 1868 at Halifax and St. John, in connection with the regiments of the line stationed in those cities, and separate schools for artillery and cavalry were in successful operations in each of the cities of Montreal and Toronto.

In his annual report for this year, Lieut.-Col. Walker Powell, deputy-adjutant general of militia, explained:— "As an evidence of the success which has attended the opening of schools of military instruction, it may be observed that some five years ago, when it was decided to extend the operations of the volunteer system, and largely increase the number of men which had previously been under training, the chief obstacle to the raising of corps in the rural parts, was the difficulty in obtaining local officers and instructors capable of commanding and drilling the men; to provide for this want the schools were established, and the result has shown that in every regimental division in Ontario and Quebec, where corps of active militia are required, competent officers can now be found, and the question of instructors is no longer an impediment."

Towards the end of the first year of the existence of the Dominion militia, those interested in militia affairs received a pointed intimation that the system of military schools in connection with the units of the Imperial army stationed in Canada was only a temporary expedient, and that the time was drawing near when Canada would have to make arrangements for the establishment of military schools of her own. Colonel S. G. Jenyns, commanding the 13th Hussars, notified the deputy adjutant general of militia that in pursuance of the plan of the home government to withdraw the regular troops from Canada, his regiment was about

MINISTERS OF MILITIA, 1880 to 1896.

1. The Hon. Sir Adolphe P. Caron, Nov. 8th, 1880 to Jan. 25th, 1892. 2. The Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Jan. 25th, 1892 to Dec. 5th, 1892. 3 The Hon. J. C. Patterson, Dec. 5th, 1892 to March 26th, 1895. 4. The Hon. A. R. Dickey, March 26th, 1895 to Jan. 15th, 1896. 5. The Hon. D. Tisdale, May 1st, 1896 to July 8th, 1896. 6. The Hon. Alphonse Desjardins, Jan. 15th, 1896 to April 27th, 1896.

to return to England, and he was about to sell his troop horses. Consequently the cavalry school maintained at Toronto could not be carried on. Colonel Jenyns remarked in his communication:—"I do not like to resign the appointment of commandant without specially bringing to the notice of the minister of militia the great zeal which I have found exists in all ranks. With very few exceptions, I have found that every officer, non-commissioned officer and private came there to learn, and did his best to render himself efficient, and it was quite surprising to me to find how much very many did learn in the short time they were under instruction, owing to their unremitting attention. Although some could hardly sit on a horse when they entered the school, a great many officers and non-commissioned officers are quite capable of drilling their respective troops, particularly as a considerable number of men under them have passed through the cavalry school."

During the time the militia force of the new Dominion was being organized the military spirit of the country was maintained at a high pitch as a result of the continued threats of Fenian invasions. Meantime the carrying into execution of the home government's policy of withdrawing the regular garrisons was partially suspended, or at any rate delayed.

October 9th, 1869, all officers commanding battalions and volunteer militia in the Toronto brigade district received warning to hold their battalions in readiness to turn out for active service at short notice on account of another of the periodical Fenian scares of that time. The men of the local volunteer militia corps were instructed to take home their rifles and accoutrements, and the regiments were ordered alternately to mount one sergeant and three men as a guard over the magazine in the Toronto drill-shed. October 12th, in accordance with district orders, the 10th Royals and Queen's Own resumed evening parades as in 1866, the order specially requesting the commanding officer to have the regiments kept in hand without causing alarm. These drills and guards were maintained until January 12th, 1870.

During the year 1870 there was a considerable stirring up of the military spirit throughout Canada as a result of the Fenian raids across the Quebec frontier and the Red River uprising.

At the beginning of the year 1870, Colonel P. Robertson Ross, adjutant-general of militia, wrote in his annual report:—"Although as yet the military system of Canada is in its infancy, it may be said at all events with equal truth, that if required for the defence of the country, the commander-in-chief has but to give the order, and in a very few hours more than 40,000 men of the active militia, who are at least admirably armed, would stand forth to form the first line of defence, animated with as much courage and determination to defend their Queen and country as has ever been exhibited by any nation, and their ranks might be hourly swelled by men from the reserve militia. But to enable the men of Canada to fulfil with success the sacred duty of defence, sufficient time for military training ought to be afforded them. The necessary reserve of arms and stores should be at all times available, and an adequate and permanent staff maintained to secure their training in time of peace, and their guidance in time of war. The question of the maintenance and support in a proper state of efficiency of the militia of the Dominion to undertake the defence of the country, depends entirely upon the liberality of Parliament."

During the year 1870, events of great importance in connection with the development of the defensive force of the Dominion, and involving considerable action on the part of the militia and the department, occurred. This resulted partly from the attempted invasion by Fenians from the United States, in the early part of the year, partly from the necessity of raising and organizing a militia force for service in the then Northwest Territories, and despatching them to the Province of Manitoba, in conjunction with a portion of Her Majesty's regular troops; but chiefly from the labour and responsibility that devolved upon the militia department, in taking over the entire military charge of the country west of Quebec, consequent on the withdrawal of the regular troops from all parts of the Dominion west of that station.

Early in the month of April, apprehension being entertained of an intended Fenian raid from the United States on the southern frontier, the adjutant-general, Col. Robertson Ross, was called on by Government, to take the necessary steps to hold in readiness such number of the active militia as might be deemed sufficient for the emergency. Col. Robertson Ross submitted for adoption the following measures:—

1st—That the four frontier battalions of active militia, belonging to military district No. 5, south of the St. Lawrence and west of Lake Memphremagog, viz.: The 50th Battalion, headquarters at Huntingdon, numbering 29 officers and 258 non-commissioned officers and men; the 51st Battalion, headquarters at Hemmingford, numbering 31 officers and 314 non-commissioned officers and men; the 52nd Battalion, headquarters at Knowlton, numbering 29 officers and 250 non-commissioned officers and men; and the 60th Battalion, headquarters at Durham, numbering 21 officers and 200 non-commissioned officers and men, should at once be called out for active service, and

placed upon frontier duty for the military protection of that part of the country.

2nd.—That the Montreal Troop of Cavalry, numbering 3 officers and 30 troopers, should be directed to proceed at once to Hemmingford, to be employed on patrol and outpost duty along the frontier, west of the Richelieu.

3rd:—That the Cookshire Troop of Cavalry, numbering 3 officers and 45 troopers should be sent by rail (the roads at that time being in very bad condition) via Sherbrooke, St. Lambert and Stanbridge, and from thence march to Frelighsburg, as their headquarters, for outpost and patrol duty east of Lake Champlain.

4th.—That the above force should be placed under the immediate command of the deputy adjutant-general commanding, military district No. 5, subject to such orders as he might receive from time to time.

5th.—That in the event of the regular troops being ordered from Montreal to the front, all the active militia corps there should be held in readiness to turn out for garrison duty in Montreal, or for such other service as might be required.

6th.—That such portions of Col. Rodier's battalion of active militia (the 64th) as were then equipped and ready, having their headquarters at Beauharnois, should, together with the St. Martine Company, be placed on active service for the protection of the Beauharnois Canal, acting also as supports and posts of communication with the Huntingdon line of defence.

7th.—That the militia gunboat "Rescue," then lying at Kingston, should be manned, armed, and placed on duty at Prescott, for patrol service on the river frontier of military district No. 4, and that the gunboat "Prince Alfred," then lying at Goderich, should be likewise placed on service and ordered to Sarnia for the protection of the St. Clair frontier.

8th.—That the above force should remain on duty until the alarm had subsided, and that to ensure unity of command, arrangements should be made to enable the lieut.-general commanding Her Majesty's regular troops to assume the command in chief of the militia so called out.

All these recommendations were duly approved of by an Order in Council, dated 9th April, 1870, the command in chief of the militia called out being placed in the hands of the lieut.-general commanding the regular troops. Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, deputy adjutant-general commanding Military District No. 5 (an officer well acquainted with the roads and localities on the frontier of his district, the one then most threatened), assumed the immediate command of the force in his district, proceeding to post the various pickets, and to make the necessary military dispositions.

On the 12th April, for the protection of the St. Clair frontier, a force of militia, consisting of a demi-battery of field artillery (two guns, with 35 gunners and drivers), two companies of the 7th battalion of infantry (100 men), was placed on duty at Sarnia, and the St. Thomas troop of cavalry, 40 strong, the Windsor company of 55 strong, and the Leamington independent company of infantry, 55 strong, posted at Windsor; the force at Sarnia being under the command of Lieut.-Col. Shanly, of the London field battery, and that at Windsor under Major Walker, of the 7th battalion.

On the 11th of April, in consequence of additional information received by Government, it was considered desirable to call out an additional force of 5,000 men, to be taken chiefly from military districts Nos. 5, 6 and 7. To this call the active militia in those districts at once responded with promptitude and alacrity, and within forty-eight hours after the receipt of the order very many were assembled at, and all on their way to, their respective posts.

The remainder of the force called out at this time was concentrated at Montreal and Quebec, except that a proportion of the Grand Trunk Brigade was judiciously disposed at certain vulnerable points along the line of the Grand Trunk Railway, by its commandant, Lieut.-Col. C. J. Brydges. Including the troops on the St. Clair frontier, a force in all of 6,000 men was stationed where required, in a very short space of time. By returns received from Montreal, dated 20th April, upwards of 2,000 of the active militia were held there in reserve, ready, if required, to support those on duty on the Missisquoi, Huntingdon and Hemmingford frontiers, and at Quebec 1,637 officers and men were concentrated.

On the 21st April, it being considered by that time unnecessary to retain the whole of the force then embodied, on duty, orders were transmitted for the release from duty of all, with the exception of the 50th, 51st, 52nd, 60th, and 64th, and the two troops of cavalry originally placed on the southern frontier, and who remained at their posts until the 29th April, when they were also withdrawn. The gunboats "Rescue" and "Prince Alfred," however, were still kept on their respective stations.

About the middle of May rumours of Fenian invasion from the United States again became current, and although at first many disbelieved in the probability of such, it soon became evident from the active military proceedings adopted by the Fenians in concentrating arms and war material on the frontier that mischief was intended. On May 24th, then being

celebrated as the anniversary of Her Majesty's birthday by the inhabitants and militia in the large cities throughout the Dominion, the fact of the presence of the invaders at different points on the frontier becoming actually known, the necessary orders were issued. A sufficient number of the active militia was called out in the districts threatened, those in districts 5, 6 and 7 being brigaded with the regular troops under the immediate orders of the Lieut.-General commanding the British troops, (General Lindsay), who, by virtue of an Order in Council, dated 24th May, again assumed the command in chief of the militia forces so called out.

On exposed points of the frontier, where no regular troops were at hand, the necessary protection was at once furnished by the men of the militia. On the St. Clair frontier, Sarnia was occupied by 322 infantry and a demi-battery of field artillery from London; Windsor by 234 infantry, and patrols of cavalry or mounted riflemen established in the vicinity of each of these places. The co-operation of the militia gunboat "Prince Alfred" on this line of frontier, could not upon the occasion of this second alarm be obtained, that vessel (which, during the winter months, had been altered and converted into an effective fighting craft, armed with four guns, and fitted with iron shutters to protect the gunners from rifle fire), being employed at the moment in connection with the Red River expedition.

On the Niagara frontier, a force of 1,159 men, including the Welland field battery of artillery, with four guns, was judiciously posted by Lieutenant-Colonel Durie, the deputy adjutant-general of militia, military district No. 2.

The defence of the St. Lawrence River frontier from Brockville eastwards to Cornwall and Vaudreuil, was likewise provided for by the militia alone, with great rapidity; a force of 2,230 officers and men with a field battery of four guns occupying Cornwall, its line of canal, and the towns of Prescott and Brockville.

As the Dominion militia gunboat "Rescue," whose usual station was at Kingston, was also employed with the North-West expedition, and not available to co-operate in the defence of this portion of the river frontier, authority was obtained to hire, at Brockville, a small steam vessel, and after placing on board one six-pounder gun, with a small detachment of militia artillery, she was despatched to Prescott, and subsequently to Cornwall, to be at the disposal of the deputy adjutant-general of militia of military district No. 4 (who was charged with the command there), ready to intercept the landing of any hostile force; and if such force had landed, available to act on its line of communication and cut off its retreat.

Four hundred and seventy officers and men were likewise called out at Kingston.

On May 25th, at a place called Eccles Hill, in advance of Cook's Corners, on the Missisquoi frontier, the first attempt during the year 1870 to invade the territory of the Dominion was made, but the invaders were instantly met with gallantry and repulsed with loss, in the act of crossing the line from the State of Vermont, by a small force of the Canadian militia, consisting of forty men of the 60th (or Missisquoi Battalion), and 37 farmers, resident in the neighborhood, (the only officers on the ground at the moment being Lieut.-Col. Chamberlain, M.P., who commanded the 60th Battalion, and Captain Bockus of the same corps). The men had been previously judiciously posted by Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, deputy adjutant general, commanding the militia, in military district No. 5.

On the advance of the enemy, apparently about 200 in number, across the frontier, the leading man was immediately shot dead, and several others wounded (some of whom were subsequently reported dead), and the rest speedily retired in disorder. At 6 p.m., on the same day, Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith having in the meantime arrived with reinforcements, the invaders were driven out of certain houses on the boundary line, in which they had taken refuge after their repulse in the morning, and being already demoralized, fled in all directions, seeking shelter in the neighboring woods, throwing away their arms and ammunition, and having one of their leaders, called Donnelly, and styled as general, wounded. They also abandoned a small field gun, which they had fired several times during the evening, and which subsequently fell into the hands of the Canadians.

On the 27th May, another body from the State of New York, again crossed the border in arms, at Holbrook's, or Trout River, near Hinchinbrook, on the Huntingdon frontier, but were instantly engaged and driven back with rapidity across the lines by one company of Her Majesty's 69th regiment, then forming part of the Quebec garrison, and the 50th (Huntingdon) Battalion of active militia.

Although official recognition of the services of the rank and file who participated in the repulse of the raiders was decidedly tardy, the service medal not being issued until 1900, the British government did not lose much time in marking its appreciation of the services of the Dominion militia officers who held responsible commands on the Quebec frontier during the raids. October 20, 1870, a very interesting ceremony took place in the large reception-room of the St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal, when an investiture of the insignia of Companion of the Order of St. Michael

and St. George was held by His Excellency the Governor-General, Lord Lisgar, the recipients being Lieut.-Cols. Osborne Smith, Fletcher, and McEachran. This was the first occasion on which the decorations of the then new order had been offered to any in the British colonies.

Before handing over the insignia of the Order, His Excellency delivered a speech in which he remarked that the Imperial government had marked the public spirit displayed by the Canadians, and before any communication from him could reach Her Majesty's ministers, they had resolved to confer the order on any Canadian militia officer who might be deserving of it.

His Excellency's subsequent remarks are historically interesting as indicating the routine followed in procuring these honors for the gentlemen concerned, and as specifying the exact services for which the honours were conferred.

His Excellency said:—"I was particularly asked whether there were any officers in command of the colonial forces who were actually engaged in the recent repulse of the Fenians on the frontier, whom I would recommend on that account for the honor of a Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and I stated that there were gentlemen whose names I should be happy to have the opportunity for submitting for consideration under the circumstances, feeling assured as I did, that the conferring rewards upon them would have an excellent effect throughout the Dominion, animate and encourage the volunteer militia, and be received with the utmost gratitude in all quarters as a gracious boon on the part of Her Majesty. Accordingly I communicated with the lieut.-general in command, the Hon. James Lindsay, and the Honorable the Minister of Militia, Sir George E. Cartier, and in accordance with their views, I recommended for the distinction in question the names of the gentlemen following:— Lieut.-Col. William Osborne Smith, deputy adjutant-general of militia, 5th district, who commanded on the Missisquoi frontier, arranged the defence of Eccles Hill, and provided for the defence of that post on the 25th May; was present there in command on the afternoon of the same day when skirmishing took place. Lieut.-Colonel John Fletcher, brigade major of St. John's militia brigade district, was in command on the Huntingdon frontier previous to the arrival of Her Majesty's 69th regiment, when Col. Bagot, the officer commanding that regiment assumed the command of the field force. Col. Fletcher accompanied the troops when advancing to attack, and though not in command, was present with the advanced guard when it drove the Fenians across the border. Lieut.-Col. A. McEachran, commanding 50th Huntingdon Borderers, commanded on the Huntingdon frontier until the arrival of Lieut.-Col. Fletcher; commanded his own corps when it drove the Fenians across the border at Trout River. Lieut.-Col. Brown Chamberlin, M.A., D.C.L., commanding 60th Missisquoi battalion of militia, commanded at Eccles Hill, and drove the Fenians back when they crossed the frontier, and attacked the position named on the forenoon of the 25th of May.

"Lord Kimberly, who had in the meantime succeeded Lord Granville at the Colonial Office, acknowledged the receipt of my despatch, submitting the names of the four officers, and strongly recommending them for the distinction named. In reply, Lord Kimberly stated that he had much pleasure in submitting the names of the four gentlemen to the Queen for the Royal approval, and Her Majesty was graciously pleased to direct that the decoration should be offered to them."

It speaks volumes for the efficiency of the newly created militia department that, while arrangements were being made for the mobilization and equipment of the powerful force placed in the field to resist the Fenian raiders, plans were progressing concurrently for the raising of a force to restore order in the new Red River Province, or Manitoba. Of course, the department had the great advantage of the cheerful assistance of the staff and the departmental organizations of the British regular troops still remaining in Canada, and the imperial magazines were drawn upon to a considerable extent. Still the work accomplished this year by the new militia department and staff was extremely creditable, both in connection with the successful resistance of the Fenian raids and with the suppression of the half-breed uprising in the Red River Valley.

From 1670 until 1869 the Hudson Bay Company asserted jurisdiction over the vast region which comprises the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Northwest Territories. Thanks to the intervention of the British Government, and for certain considerations, the company, March 9, 1869, relinquished its charter and its authority over the whole region of Rupert's Land, or the Hudson Bay Territory, on the understanding that the territory was to be transferred to the Dominion. A delay in the issue of the proclamation announcing the transfer was productive of much trouble.

The first attempt to raise a Canadian militia force in Manitoba was during the stirring winter of 1869-70. Louis Riel and his followers were running things with a high hand in Fort Garry or Winnipeg. The Honourable William MacDougall, the Lieutenant-Governor

designate, was making his residence, for the time being, across the international frontier at Pembina, being forbidden by Riel's government to enter the country. The expected proclamation by the Queen announcing the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada had not been received, and even loyal Canadians residing in Manitoba doubted whether they had any legal right to offer armed assistance to the men who had assumed the authority. As a matter of fact the Hudson Bay Company remained the only constituted authority in the colony. Meantime Riel had armed his men with the weapons left in Fort Garry by the last detachment of British troops who had been in the country (1).

On the first of December, Mr. Macdougall, with some of those of his party, crossed the frontier and, in British territory, issued a proclamation assuming the duties and authority of lieutenant-governor in virtue of a commission issued to him at Ottawa, and knowing the first of December had originally been decided upon as the date for the transfer of the country from the Hudson Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada. As a matter of fact the date for this event had been postponed, but, being out of direct communication with Ottawa, he could not keep himself informed of the course of events.

The same day as he issued this proclamation, Mr. Macdougall, in virtue of the assumed authority conferred by his own commission, issued a commission to Lieut.-Col. John Stoughton Dennis, appointing him to be his "Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, in and for the Northwest Territories." Colonel Dennis, who had charge of one of the Dominion Government survey parties which had started to survey the country in anticipation of its regular transfer to the Dominion, had been connected with the old Upper Canada militia, and had figured prominently in the operations in the Niagara Peninsula in connection with the Fenian raid of 1866-67.

The commission issued to Colonel Dennis, after setting forth the condition of affairs in the colony and explaining his selection, proceeded:—"I do hereby authorize and empower you as such to raise, organize, arm, equip and provision a sufficient force within the said Territories and with the said force to attack, arrest, disarm or disperse the said armed men, so unlawfully assembled, and disturbing the public peace; and for that purpose, and with the force aforesaid, to assault, fire upon, pull down or break into any fort, house, stronghold or other place in which said armed men may be found; and I hereby authorize you, as such Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace, to hire, purchase, impress and take all necessary clothing, arms, ammunition and supplies, and all cattle, horses, wagons, sleighs or other vehicles which may be required for the use of the force to be raised as aforesaid; and I further authorize you to appoint as many officers and deputies under you, and to give them such orders and instructions from time to time, as may be found necessary," etc., etc.

This was surely a comprehensive enough commission, but unfortunately, apart altogether from its doubtful authority, the means for giving it effect were decidedly meagre, Riel having the chief supply of arms and ammunition in the country under his hands.

Colonel Dennis lost no time in proceeding to give effect to his orders. On December 1st, he was at Winnipeg, and on the 2nd he reached the Stone Fort, or Lower Fort Garry, a Hudson Bay post twenty miles down the river towards Lake Winnipeg. By eight o'clock that evening there were 70 young men assembled in a large room in an upper part of one of the buildings of the fort, and they were given an hour's drill. A guard for the fort volunteered for the night from those present, which was increased by a reinforcement from Chief Prince's band of christianized Indians of some 70 to 100 men. Colonel Dennis sent all of the Indians home except the chief and 50 men, whom he retained to serve as a permanent guard for the fort, considering it safer to avail himself of their services in that way rather than to have them exposed to any actual fighting.

Reporting that night to Mr. Macdougall, Col. Dennis explained that he proposed to organize a full battalion of infantry throughout the colony, he to have the immediate command, with Major C. W. Boulton, a former officer of H.M. 100th Regiment, who was one of the staff of his surveying party, as second in command. Dennis also reported having called in Messrs. Hart, C.E., and Webb, C.E., with their surveying parties, to assist in organizing the forces, most of the surveyors having been through the military schools which had been conducted by the imperial troops, when quartered in the older provinces. The colonel expected to have a military school man to command each one of the companies. The other, and more subordinate officers, he intended to let the men select from among themselves.

While Colonel Dennis requisitioned and purchased arms, supplies and ammunition, he commissioned Major Boulton to visit the various parishes, supervise the enrolling of the companies, appoint the officers

(1) In 1817 Lord Selkirk led a military expedition to Manitoba via the Great Lakes, consisting of one hundred officers and men of the De Meuron and Watteville regiments, two auxiliary Swiss corps disbanded in Canada after the war of 1812. In 1846 a body of 383 persons under command of Colonel J. F. Crofton, including detachments of the Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery and 6th Foot was sent from England to Fort Garry via Hudson Bay, being relieved in 1848 by a force of 56 men despatched by the same route. In 1857, 100 of the Royal Canadian Rifles were sent round to Fort Garry via Hudson Bay.

and drill them. There was a very general response to the call.

This force had but a chequered and brief career, the average number a days' service performed by those enrolled being four.

The activity of Colonel Dennis, Major Boulton and their officers caused much stir throughout the country, and particularly in Fort Garry and Winnipeg. Dennis was anxious to avoid a collision until he had a sufficiently large and well-formed force in hand to guarantee complete success, and meantime he urged caution upon his subordinates. But so much drilling and organizing in a slim community could not go on unnoticed. Riel called in his sympathizers, and there was an unexpectedly generous response. Nothing succeeds like success, and, while this encouraged the French half-breeds and other disaffected, it had an opposite effect on the timorous and indifferent. Among the white population were many loyal British subjects who rightly doubted the legality of the position of either Mr. Macdougall or Colonel Dennis. While matters were in this condition things came to a crisis in Winnipeg.

Dr. Schultz (afterwards Sir John) was the leading spirit in the colony in opposition to the Riel movement, and in his warehouse was stored a large quantity of Canadian government provisions brought from the east to supply the various survey parties and the workmen on the government roads. Riel had manifested a disposition to take possession of these valuable stores, while to protect them the enrolled volunteers and others had assembled and established themselves in the warehouse and other buildings in the vicinity. Saturday, December 4th, Major Boulton arrived, and, taking command, told the men off into guards, etc. The same night orders arrived from Lieut.-Col. Dennis to abandon the premises and stores and withdraw to the Scotch church, where they were to serve as an outpost and rendezvous for the loyal in case of any demonstration being made by Riel's party on the lower settlement. Dennis feared that the presence of the force on Dr. Schultz's premises, in such close proximity to Riel's headquarters, would provoke a collision. The next day Boulton proceeded to the Stone Fort to consult with Dennis, the latter persisting in his orders for the abandonment of the position in Winnipeg. On the evening of the 6th, Dennis reiterated his orders to the "enrolled Canadians" in Winnipeg to leave the town and establish themselves at Kildonan school-house. How Dr. Schultz and his men persisted in remaining, how they were surrounded, surrendered and were made prisoners is a matter of Canadian history.

Tuesday, December 7th, Colonel Dennis received from Mr. Macdougall a proclamation directing the former officials of the colony to continue to discharge their several duties as previous to the 1st instant, and by Thursday, 9th, having become convinced that it was useless longer to entertain any expectation of being enabled to get a reliable force with which to put down the party in arms, Dennis issued a proclamation which, after reciting the expressed wish of the "French party" to confer with Mr. Macdougall, went on to say:—"Under the belief that the French party are sincere in their desire for peace, and feeling that to abandon for the present the call on the loyal to arms, would, in view of such communications, relieve the situation from much embarrassment and so contribute to bring about peace and save the country from what will otherwise end in universal ruin and devastation, I now call and order the loyal party in the Northwest Territories to cease from further action under the appeal to arms made by me; and I call on the French party to satisfy the people of their sincerity in wishing for a peaceable ending of all these troubles by sending a deputation to the lieutenant-governor at Pembina, without unnecessary delay."

That was only forty-five years ago, and in these days of direct rail, telegraphic and telephonic communication, it is almost hard to believe that it was December 18th before Mr. Macdougall's report of his doings in the first of that month reached Ottawa. When the report reached the capital, as may be supposed, it created great consternation, for the transfer of authority had been postponed until the Hudson Bay Company was prepared to transfer not only its own rights, but the territory itself, to Her Majesty.

December 4th, Hon. Joseph Howe, Secretary of State, wrote Mr. Macdougall in part:—"As it would appear from these documents that you have used the Queen's name without her authority—attributed to Her Majesty acts which she has not yet performed—and organized an armed force within the territory of the Hudson-Bay Company, without warrant or instructions, I am commanded to assure you that the grave occurrences which you report have occasioned here great anxiety. The exertion of military force against the misguided people now in arms, even under the sanction of law, was not to be hastily risked, considering the fearful consequences which might ensue were the Indians, many of them but recently in contact with the white inhabitants of the neighboring states, drawn into the conflict. But as the organization and use of such a force by you was, under the circumstances, entirely illegal, the governor-general and council cannot disguise from you the weight of responsibility you have incurred."

In short, the first militia enrolled in what is now the Province of Manitoba, under Canadian authority,

was raised in an absolutely irregular way and contrary to the laws and usages of Canada, and more than that, raised, armed and drilled before the Canadian government had the least authority in the colony.

There was no doubt as to the legal status or the practical efficiency of the next Canadian militia units seen in the Red River Valley, the two battalions of Canadian militia which formed part of Colonel Garnet Wolseley's historic expedition of 1870.

These two battalions were raised under the Dominion Militia Act, 31 Vic., Chap. 40, and being "Rifles," wore a uniform in all essential respects similar to that of the 60th Royal Rifles, the first battalion of which corps formed part of the expedition.

Early in the spring of 1870, it was agreed by the Dominion government to raise and despatch a military contingent, in conjunction with a portion of Her Majesty's regular troops, to the Fort Garry. In accordance with instructions received, Colonel Robertson Ross, the adjutant-general of militia, submitted a scheme of organization for the Dominion force required (750 men), which was duly approved of by an Order-in-Council, dated 16th April, 1870, and adopted.

In that report it was recommended that the Dominion contingent should consist of two battalions of riflemen, to be designated respectively the 1st or Ontario Battalion of Rifles and the 2nd or Quebec Battalion, each corps to consist of seven companies, and each company of fifty non-commissioned officers and men, having one captain, one lieutenant and one ensign to each company. The staff of each battalion consisted of one lieut.-colonel, one major, one adjutant with rank of captain, one paymaster, one quartermaster-sergeant, one hospital sergeant, one surgeon, one sergeant-major, one armoury sergeant and one paymaster's clerk, thus making the strength of each battalion 375, including officers, staff sergeants, non-commissioned officers and men; and it was further recommended that two chaplains should be appointed to accompany this force, one from the Church of England, the other from the Church of Rome.

It was recommended that the officers and men for these battalions should be allowed to volunteer from existing corps of active militia, if possible drawn in equal proportions, according to the strength of the active militia in the seven military districts forming the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario; that the rate of pay and allowances for the officers should be the same as laid down in paragraph 286 in the "Rules and Regulations for the Active Militia," with free rations when on the march or encamped, and the pay of the non-commissioned officers and men as follows:—Sergeant-major, $20 per month; quartermaster-sergeant, $20 per month; hospital sergeant, $18 per month; paymaster's clerk, $18 per month; armour sergeant, $18 per month; color sergeant, $18 per month; sergeants, $15 per month; corporals and buglers, $13 per month; privates, $12 per month. Each non-commissioned officer and man receiving, in addition to his pay, free rations and lodgings.

It was further recommended that the men so selected should be between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, of good character, and as the service upon which they were about to be employed required more than ordinary strength and power of endurance, a strict medical examination was necessary; the men being required, moreover, to sign a service roll and be regularly attested before a magistrate to serve for one year at least, and one more in addition if required by government.

The force was mobilized at Toronto, and left there May 20th, 1870, for Fort Garry, 1,280 miles distant, via the lakes, Prince Arthur's Landing (Port Arthur), the Kaministiqua River and the chain of rivers and lakes so frequently used by the old fur traders.

The detail was as follows:—Seven companies of the 1st Battalion, 60th Rifles, 350 men; Royal Artillery, 20 men, 4 seven-pounders; Royal Engineers, 20; Departmental Corps Details, 10; 1st Ontario Battalion (Rifles), Active Militia, 350; 2nd Quebec Battalion (Rifles), 350; Voyageurs, 330.

The expedition reached Fort Garry without mishap on August 24.

October 5th, 1870, the regular troops returned from Fort Garry, the militia battalions remaining as a garrison until near the expiration of their term of enlistment. A couple of small companies, one from each battalion, were then re-enlisted for service in the province, and left at Fort Garry under command of Major Irvine.

During 1870 an important step forward was taken in the training of the active force, by the introduction, for the first time, at the annual drill, of a regular system of target practice by companies in succession, under their own officers, on the system, as far as circumstances would admit, then observed in the regular army, each man firing, under supervision, five rounds at 200, five at 400, and five at 600 yards, 15 rounds per man in all; and with view to the encouragement of this most important part of military training, a certain number of prizes (to be given to those who obtained, at the annual drill, the highest shooting figures of merit), were given by government. The amounts of these prizes, with other details were published in General Orders, dated 26th August, 1870.

When the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia became part of the Dominion Confederation, schools of military instruction in connection with the

regular army were established at St. John, N.B., and Halifax, N.S., on the 20th January and 1st of February, 1869, respectively. In Nova Scotia the attendance during the year 1870 was moderately fair, eight first, and eighty second class certificates having been granted by the commandant. At St. John, N.B., sixty cadets were granted certificates, three of whom received first class certificates, with very high recommendations from Colonel Hawley, 4th Battalion, 60th Rifles, the commandant.

During 1870 the question of uniforms for the militia was carefully gone into, and Lieut.-Colonel Walker Powell, then deputy adjutant-general of militia at headquarters, was despatched to England for an examination, in all its details, of the Royal Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico, from which depot he obtained patterns of cloth and clothing, a list of the prices at which materials were being supplied to the Imperial government, and other information relating to the several descriptions of army clothing then in use in England, all of which proved of much value in making decisions for the supply of articles required for Canada, and enabled him to form an opinion for future reference, as to whether cloth and clothing of the descriptions required for the militia could be satisfactorily manufactured in Canada, either by contract, or directly by material being procured and made up under supervision of the government, and according to the system then prevailing at Pimlico.

It may be well to state that when the description of clothing to be worn by the active militia of Canada was adopted, the consideration that uniformity with that worn by regiments of Her Majesty's regular army was important, in view of the fact that many of these regiments of Her Majesty's regular army were stationed in the country, and that they would, in cases of invasion, or other necessity, act in concert with the militia, and thus, while giving confidence to the latter, the similarity in colour of clothing would, in cases of attack by an enemy, prevent any undue advantage being taken as against the militia. The colours then adopted were scarlet, with blue facings, for infantry; rifle green, with scarlet facings, for rifles; blue, with scarlet facings, for artillery; and, blue with buff facings, for cavalry, and as similar cloth and these colours could not at the time be satisfactorily manufactured in Canada, it was found that the manufacture of army cloth and army clothing were special branches, and as cloth such as that required was only made in England, under contracts for delivery, as required from time to time, a considerable saving was effected by procuring the supplies for the militia from manufacturers who were under contract with the Imperial government, while at the same time the government of Canada had the advantage accruing from the experience of the Royal Army Clothing Factory in decisions as to durability of materials taken into wear by the army from year to year.—(Col. Powell's Report).

An amendment to the Militia Act (34 Victoria, Chapter xvii) was passed during 1871, and received the assent April 14. This provided that the Militia Act should apply to Manitoba at once, and to British Columbia whenever that colony should become part of the Dominion of Canada. Each province was to be created a separate military district, and the total strength of the active militia was increased from 40,000 to 45,000 men.

At the time the Pacific Province entered Confederation the militia organization of British Columbia was very simple and crude. No. 117 of the Revised Statutes of 1871 authorized the enrollment of volunteer corps, the colony to make a grant of $500 for each corps of not less than 30 members raised, towards the cost of establishment, and to supply the arms. Capitation grants of five dollars to each effective volunteer and of ten dollars to each "marksman" qualified in the annual class firing was provided for.

During the year 1871, many measures were introduced, calculated to increase the efficiency of the active militia, and the military organization of the Dominion. Among the most prominent of the measures adopted, may be mentioned:—

1st. The inauguration of a uniform and systematic mode of carrying out the annual drill of the active militia in "camps of exercise," more in accordance with the requirements of modern warfare; the great majority of the troops assembled at these camps being concentrated with rapidity, paid and supplied as if on actual service, and placed in every district under the command of those officers appointed for the purpose.

2nd. Many batteries of garrison artillery, (hitherto practised mostly in infantry exercises), at the time of the annual training went through a short course of instruction in "gun drill" at various forts and batteries, firing creditably at target practice the annual allowance of shot and shell. The better inspection, and instruction moreover of both field and garrison batteries, was effected by, or under the orders of the inspector of artillery and warlike stores.

3rd. The establishment of two schools of artillery, one at Kingston, the other at Quebec, under the command of specially trained officers of the Royal Artillery, affording means for the complete training in artillery exercises, of such officers and men of artillery corps, as were attached thereto.

4th. The performance, by nearly the whole of the infantry, at the annual training, of a prescribed course

of target practice, with the Snider rifle, under revised regulations, 584 government money prizes, with appropriate badges, being awarded to the successful com-competitors.

During the year the second periodical enrolment of the reserve militia was made, shewing a large increase in the number of men available for the defence of the country.

A military expedition to Manitoba, to assist Her Majesty's subjects resident in that province, in repelling Fenian invasion, was undertaken this year.

October 12, the adjutant-general received instructions by an Order-in-Council to organize and despatch to Fort Garry, via the Dawson route, a military expedition consisting of 275 officers and men. The 200 riflemen who formed part of the expedition were recruited half in Quebec, half in Ontario, the command being held by Lieut.-Col. Thomas Scott. Owing to the late season, hardships greater even than those met by Wolseley's expedition the year previous had to be surmounted, but November 18, three weeks from the issuing of orders to mobilize the force, it arrived safely at its destination.

Meanwhile the Fenians, under General O'Neil, who had been identified with the eastern raids in 1866 and 1870, crossed the Manitoba frontier near Fort Pembina and seized a Hudson Bay post. Major Irvine, with a force of some 200 men, including the service companies and some local militia, marched towards the threatened point, but a force of the 20th U. S. Infantry, under Lt.-Col. Wheaton, followed the Fenians across the lines, and, taking the leaders prisoners, conveyed them back to United States territory. October 16, 1871, Manitoba was converted into military district No. 10, and placed under command of Lieut.-Col. W. Osborne Smith. The same date British Columbia was constituted military district No. 11.

October 20, 1871, orders were issued providing for the organization of "A" and "B" Batteries, the nucleus of the present permanent force. They were first considered rather as schools of artillery than as service units. In November, the 1st battalion of the 60th Royal Rifles, Lieut.-Col. Fielden, the last Imperial regular corps in garrison at Quebec, marched out of the Citadel and embarked on a transport, "B" Battery taking charge of the Citadel. Apart from the garrison of Halifax, no British regulars remained in Canada.

The first Canadian rifle team to participate in the matches of the National Rifle Association went to Wimbledon in 1872, being sent by the Militia Department. The following year the D. R. A. assumed the responsibility of selecting and despatching the team.

In 1872, Colonel Robertson Ross made a reconnaissance of the great Northwest to report upon the best means of providing for the opening up of that country, and May 3, 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald introduced in parliament a bill which, as the Act 36 Victoria, Chapter 35, provided for the organization of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police. This force has always been quite distinct from the active militia, but its connection with the national defensive force has been very intimate. During its first mobilization it was placed temporarily under command of the D.A.G. in Manitoba, but Lieut.-Col. G. A. French, (now Major-General Sir George French, R.A.), commanding "A" Battery and school of artillery, was the first permanent commissioner. In the autumn of 1873, three troops or divisions were organized from drafts from the east, Winnipeg being the point of mobilization. During the summer of 1874, three new divisions were mobilized at Toronto and despatched to Manitoba, unarmed, via Chicago and St. Paul.

The Act, 36 Vic., Chap. 46, passed in 1873, amended the Militia Act to provide that magistrates could call out the militia in anticipation of riots without waiting for rioting to occur.

November 6, 1873, the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie succeeded as Prime Minister to Sir John A. Macdonald.

May 5, 1874, the Hon. Wm. Ross, minister of militia, introduced into the House of Commons a bill providing for the establishment of a military college "after the model of the one at West Point in the United States." The resolutions were adopted without amendment, a bill presented and passed, and finally assented to May 26, as the Act 37 Victoria, Chapter 36. June, 1876, the Royal Military College at Kingston opened with a class of eighteen cadets.

By the Act 37 Victoria, Chapter 36, passed at the same session, the Militia Act was extended to Prince Edward Island, then just admitted to Confederation.

Prince Edward Island has had a legally established militia since 1780, an old colonial statute 20 George III, Chap. 3, providing that all male persons between 16 and 60 years should bear arms. The Act 3 William IV, Chap. 30, divided the militia into two classes, all above 45 years of age to form the second class or reserve. A salaried Inspector was provided for and regimental, battalion and company districts created, the various units to be called out once a year. The Act of Victoria, Chap. 6, provided for the establishment of volunteer companies in connection with the militia battalions to be trained 20 days each year. An amending act, 14 Victoria, Chap. 6, provided that the Militia would only be called out for training or muster except in cases of emergency. 24 Victoria, Chap. II, provided for the enroll-

GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING THE MILITIA OF CANADA

1. Lieut-General Sir Edward Selby-Smyth, April 20th, 1875 to May 31st, 1880. 2. Major-General Richard George Amherst Luard, July 1st, 1880 to April 30th, 1884. 3. Lieut-General Sir Frederick D. Middleton, C.B., K.C.M.G., July 12th, 1884 to June 30th, 1890. 4. Major-General Ivor John Caradoc Herbert, C.B., C.M.G., November 20th, 1890. 5. Major-General William Julius Gascoigne, September 19th, 1895 to June 30th, 1898. 6. Major-General E. T. H. Hutton, C.B., A.D.C., August 11th, 1898 to Feb. 11th, 1899. 7. Major-General the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dundonald, C.V.O., C.B., July 20th, 1902 to June 15th, 1904. 8. Major-General R. H. O'Grady Haly, C.B., D.S.O., July 19th, 1900 to July 19, 1902.

ment of volunteer corps, to be mustered 16 times each year. A new Act, 29 Victoria, Chap. 2, divided the Island Militia into Active and Sedentary, the latter comprising the men between the years of 45 and 60. The Active Militia consisted of "Volunteer Militia" and "Regular Militia," who were to drill not more than 10 days a year. A grant of one pound sterling a year was granted to each uniformed volunteer militiaman. Under this act schools of military instruction were established.

April 8, 1875, assent was given to the Act 38 Victoria, Chapter 8, which provided:—"There shall be appointed to command an officer holding the rank of colonel or superior thereto in Her Majesty's regular army, charged with the military command and discipline of the militia. He will have the rank of major-general in the militia."

Provision was also made for an adjutant-general at headquarters.

In accordance with this Act, Major-General Edward Selby-Smyth, who since October 1, 1874, had held the appointment of adjutant-general, was appointed to the command; Colonel Walker Powell, April 21, being appointed adjutant-general.

April 28, 1877, the Militia Act was amended by 40 Victoria, Chapter 40, which more clearly defined the responsibility of municipalities in regard to the pay of troops on service in aid of the civil power.

This same year the "Provisional Force" maintained in Manitoba ever since 1870 was disbanded. This force which performed much hard service, on one occasion, in 1874, marching 333 miles across the prairie to Fort Qu'Appelle, in 1872 consisted of a demi-battery of artillery and a battalion of rifles (300 officers and men). In 1873 the dismounted force was transformed from rifles into red-coated infantry, a concession to the respect and veneration held by the Indians for the British troops their forefathers had fought along with in the olden days.

April 29, 1880, another amendment to the Militia Act (43 Victoria, Chap. 2) became law, providing that the militia might be called out and paid for duty at the opening and closing of parliament, for attendance upon the governor-general, and for guarding armouries.

Another Act (45 Victoria, Chapter 10) assented to May 17, 1882, provided that the enrollment of the active militia should be considered as an embodiment in the meaning of the Militia Act. The same year the government cartridge factory was established at Quebec.

In July, 1882, Sir John A. Macdonald again acceded to power, and in 1883, the Hon. A. P. (late Sir A. P.) Caron, the new minister of militia, introduced a new bill consolidating all the existing Acts affecting the militia, which (May 17) became law as 46 Victoria, Chapter 11.

An order of August 10, 1883, provided for the establishment of "C" battery, Canadian Artillery, at Victoria, B.C., but it was 1887 before the battery was actually organized, although special courses of instruction at the new artillery school connected with it were held in 1884 and 1886. In 1883, the three permanent batteries were brigaded to form "The Regiment of Canadian Artillery under command of the inspector of artillery.

General orders of Dec. 21, 1883, provided for the organization of the first troop of permanent cavalry and the first three companies of permanent infantry, and the establishment of a military school in connection with each unit. The original cavalry troop (hussars) was raised at Quebec, and first known as "The Cavalry School Corps," the infantry companies, "The Infantry School Corps," being raised as follows:—"A" Company at Fredericton, N.B., "B" at St. John's, Que., and "C" at Toronto.

June, 1884, the care of all military buildings and fortifications was transferred from the public works to the militia department, and an "Engineer Branch" established.

During the Soudan campaign of 1884-85 the active militia was represented in the field by Major (now Colonel) James Frederick Wilson of "A" Battery, R.C.A., and Major P. O. J. Hebert, "B." Battery, attached with authority to the Royal Artillery. Major Hebert succumbed to the campaign.

The Canadian Voyageurs (378 men) raised for this campaign by the imperial government through the governor-general and his personal staff, was commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. C. Denison, Governor-General's Body Guard, the other officers all being borrowed from the active militia as follows:—Medical Officer, Surgeon-Major J. L. H. Neilson, "B" Battery; Quartermaster and Paymaster, Lieut.-Col. J. H. Kennedy, 90th Winnipeg Rifles; Captains Mackay, 7th Fusiliers, London, and F. Aumond, Governor-General's Foot Guards, Ottawa, commanding companies.

In 1885 occurred the Northwest Rebellion, which forever set at rest all question as to the practical military utility of the active militia. March 27, word was received of the action between the rebels and Major Crozier's force of mounted police and Prince Albert volunteers (enlisted as special constables of the N.W.M.P.) at Duck Lake, and orders were at once issued for the calling out of several corps of the active militia, including "A" and "B" Batteries and "C" Company of the Infantry School Corps. The situation was complicated on account of the non-completion

of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the troops having to march in frightfully cold weather across several uncompleted gaps through the bleak, rocky desert north of Lake Superior. The campaign was prolific of many long, hard marches, a great deal of exposure and some very awkward fighting, but the militia and the Mounted Police who were on duty with them, acquitted themselves well.

During the campaign 251 officers, 3,042 non-commissioned officers and men, 141 horses and 6 guns were sent from Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario to the Northwest. In addition, there were on active service 100 officers, 1,563 rank and file, 445 horses and 2 guns from Manitoba and the North-West Territories, exclusive of the Mounted Police, (500 officers and men with one gun, who were placed during the campaign under the general officer commanding the militia, Major-General Sir Fred. Middleton, C.B.). So that the total force on service included 5,456 officers and men, 586 horses and 9 guns, including two machine guns purchased during the campaign.

Notwithstanding the vastness of the field of operations, the fighting capacity of the Indians and Half-Breeds, and the remoteness of the front from the base, the rebellion was completely suppressed and all the leaders killed or made prisoners by July 2.

The casualty lists of the actions in which the active militia participated were as follows:—Fish Creek (April 24) 10 killed, 40 wounded; Cut Knife Hill (May 2) 8 killed, 14 wounded; Batoche (May 9, 10, 11 and 12) 8 killed, 46 wounded; Frenchman's Butte (May 28), 3 wounded.

The campaign revealed many glaring defects. The equipment was proved to be defective, and the field organization about as bad as it could be. Three complete staffs had to be extemporized in the field and a fourth at the base. Systems of transport and supply had to be organized and many most essential articles of equipment purchased. The waste of time and money was very extensive.

During the latter part of 1885, the School of Mounted Infantry at Winnipeg, later changed to Dragoons, and now the Royal Canadian Mounted Rifles, was organized under an order dated September 18.

During 1887-88, "D" company of the Infantry School Corps was raised at London, Ont., and in the latter year the new School of Infantry connected therewith organized. The total strength of the permanent corps was limited to 1,000 men.

In 1886, there was a consolidation of the Dominion Statutes, and the Militia Act of 1883, with some minor amendments incorporated, was drafted as a new Act (49 Victoria, Chapter 41, "An Act respecting the Militia and Defence of Canada). This Act, with a couple of amendments (which will be presently referred to) remained in force until the passage of the Act at present governing the force, 4 Edward VII, Chapter 23.

The present government, after the defeat of the former Conservative administration at the polls, came into power, July 13, 1896, the Honourable Dr. F. W. Borden, (now Sir Frederick Borden, K.C.M.G.), a veteran officer of the Nova Scotia Militia, being awarded the portfolio of Minister of Militia.

The question of a reorganization of the staff was soon afterwards taken up.

In July, 1897, two old district staff officers were transferred to the Infantry Reserve of officers, "their services being no longer required," while three old district officers commanding were retired with gratuities. September the same year the appointments of seven district paymasters and superintendents of stores were cancelled, and three district staff officers were permitted to retire retaining rank.

In December, 1897, Lieut.-Colonel D. A. Macdonald was appointed chief superintendent of stores, and in January, 1898, the position of deputy-assistant adjutant-general at headquarters was abolished.

At the session of 1898 a bill was passed, assented to June 13, as 61 Victoria, Chapter 19, providing that in addition to the salary of the general officer commanding the militia, ($4,000 per annum), there might be paid to that officer $2,000 per annum in lieu of allowances.

February 15, 1898, Major R. Cartwright, R.R.C.I., was appointed assistant adjutant-general at headquarters, and Surgeon Lieut.-Col. J. L. H. Neilson, R.C.A., director-general of medical staff.

In January, 1899, the following appeared in general orders:—"As a preliminary step towards the formation of a Canadian general staff, arrangements have been made for a course of instruction in staff duties to take place under the direction of the commandant, Royal Military College, Kingston, commencing 1st February next and terminating on or about 31st May following.

General Order of 13th February, 1899, announced that "In order to meet an urgent want and to conform to the requirements of the military service in the Dominion, orders will be issued daily from headquarters on and after Wednesday, February, 1, 1899, Sundays and public holidays excepted. Copies of the daily orders will be printed and issued bi-weekly, as follows:—One for each regiment of cavalry and artillery, battery of artillery, battalion of infantry, and other independent units."

Orders of June, 1899, provided for the organization of "The Canadian Militia Army Medical Department"

including Militia Army Medical Staff Service and Regimental Medical Service. To this date there had been no organized medical service except a provisional one organized during the Northwest Rebellion. Each unit was allowed a surgeon, and the larger ones assistant surgeons, and many corps maintained bearer sections.

In 1797, a strong detachment of the active militia, under command of Colonel Lord Aylmer, adjutant-general, was sent to London to assist in the official celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

The South African war, on account of the participation therein of the Canadian contingents, the military spirit aroused in the Dominion, and the recognition of the colonial militia militias as part and parcel of the armed forces of the empire, marks an epoch in the history of the militia. Space forbids any reference to the distinguished services rendered by the Canadian militiamen during the trying campaigns in the Free State and Transvaal.

The strength of the various Canadian contingents despatched to South Africa with the dates of their sailing, were as follows:—2nd (Special Service) Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry, 1,039 officers and men, October 30, 1899; 1st Battalion Canadian Mounted Rifles (from August 1, 1900, designated the Royal Canadian Dragoons), 375 officers and men, February 21st, 1900; 2nd Battalion Canadian Mounted Rifles (subsequently designated "The Canadian Mounted Rifles"), 275 officers and men, January 27, 1900; Brigade Division of Royal Canadian Artillery, 539 officers and men, January and February, 1900; draft to replace casualties in the 2nd Battalion R.R.C.I., 103 officers and men, March 16, 1900; Strathcona's Horse, 548 officers and men, March 16, 1900; draft to reinforce Strathcona's Horse, 51 officers and men, May 1, 1900; South African Constabulary, March 29, 1901, 1,200 officers and men; 2nd Regiment Canadian Mounted Rifles, 901 officers and men, January 28th, 1902; No. 10 Field Hospital Company, 62 officers and men, January, 1902; 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th Regiments Canadian Mounted Rifles, 539 officers and men each, May 8th to 23rd, 1902. This makes a grand total of 7,349 officers and men.

In addition, the Dominion Government raised and equipped the 3rd (Special Service) Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry, which performed garrison duty at Halifax, N.S., thus relieving the service in the field the regular regiment at the time in garrison.

The casualties among the Canadian contingents in South Africa were as follows:—Killed or died of wounds, 65; died from disease or accidentally killed, 79; wounded, 197; missing, 2. On the return of the various contingents, no less than 310 officers and men remained in South Africa, with permission to join various military bodies.

In 1900, an Act of some importance affecting the militia:—"63-64 Victoria, Chapter 18: An Act to Amend the Militia Act was passed.

This Act amended Section 41 of the Act which originally provided for deputy adjutants-general being appointed to command districts. The amendment left the designation or name of office of district commanding officers in the hands of the government.

Section 45 was also amended, providing for the granting of the honorary rank of colonel to officers placed upon the retired list. Previously the honorary rank of lieutenant-colonel was the highest which could be granted under such circumstances.

Section 47 was also amended to provide that whenever the militia is called out for active service in the field, officers of rank superior to that of colonel, but not higher in any case than that of major-general, may be appointed.

Even before the passing of this Act, the officers commanding districts had been designated as "District Officers Commanding," instead of deputy adjutants-general.

CHAPTER IX

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Canadian Militia Becomes an Effective Army, With its Own Staff, Departmental Organizations and Arsenals.—Canada Assumes the Whole Responsibility of Keeping the Union Jack Flying in North America.—Departure of the Last British Regulars.

THE beginning of the twentieth century found the reorganization of the militia staff in full progress, and during the year 1901 there were several new appointments at headquarters created.

February 6, Lieut.-Col. V. B. Rivers, R.C.A., was appointed intelligence officer at headquarters, attached to the quartermaster-general's department.

Colonel W. H. Foster, R.E., quartermaster-general, having accepted employment in the intelligence department at the War Office, vacated his appointment April 30, and in May, Col. W. H. Cotton, A.A.G. for artillery, was appointed to the vacancy.

The same month Lieut.-Col. R. Cartwright, A.A.G., was appointed inspector of musketry, with the status of an assistant adjutant-general. A school of musketry, under the command of the inspector of musketry, was established.

In July, Lieut.-Col. B. H. Vidal, D.O.C. district No. 8, was appointed deputy adjutant-general vice Cartwright; and Paymaster and Honorary Major J. L. Biggar, from the 15th Regiment, was gazetted to be deputy assistant adjutant-general for army service corps duties at headquarters, with the rank of major. Provision having been in the meantime made for the organization of the Canadian Army Service Corps, Major Biggar was, in November, promoted Lieut.-Colonel to command the corps, with the appointment of assistant quartermaster-general at headquarters.

July 1, 1901, Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Rutherford, R.C.G.A., was appointed assistant adjutant-general for artillery at headquarters.

The first few months of the present century saw arrangements made by the Militia Department for the establishment in Canada of the first manufactory for the production of military small arms, the works of the Ross Rifle Company at Quebec.

In the year 1900, when the Dominion government wanted to purchase rifles through the imperial government, it was impossible to secure a thousand rifles in Great Britain during the time of the South African war, and Sir Frederick Borden thought that it was the duty of the government, under the circumstances, to make as soon as possible some arrangement by which rifles could be manufactured in Canada. The Minister of Militia was in England in 1900, and went to the Birmingham small arms people and tried to induce that company to come to Canada. He quite recognized the desirability of having, if possible, precisely the same rifle in Canada as is used by the British army, because if the militia of this country should ever be called out for war, he realized it would be better that they should have the same rifles as the imperial troops.

It was found impossible to prevail upon the Birmingham Small Arms Company, or any other small-arms manufacturers in Engand, to come out here and start a factory. About that time Sir Charles Ross happened

to be here. He had not then come to Canada for the first time, but had been living in British Columbia, and had spent a great deal of money there in developing water-powers and establishing electrical works. He was introduced to Sir Frederick Borden and brought other letters from the most reputable men in Canada. He explained to the minister that he had a rifle factory in the United States, and was selling sporting rifles, rifles similar to what are being manufactured in Quebec now. He said that he would be willing to establish a factory to manufacture rifles for Canada with the same bore and to use the same cartridge as the Lee-Enfield rifle. It seemed to Sir Frederick that it was a patriotic thing to recommend, and on the part of the government to accept, this opportunity to secure a factory which would turn out rifles for Canada.

As to the rifle itself, Sir Frederick Borden appointed a committee composed of General Otter, of Toronto; Col. Gibson, of Hamilton, for many years president of the council of the D.R.A., and a crack shot; Lieut-Col. Anderson, engineer, of the Marine Department, an other expert marksman; Col. Samuel Hughes, M.P., (1) another veteran rifle shot, and who had served with great distinction in various responsible staff appointments during the South African war; and Major Gaudet, superintendent of the Dominion arsenal.

This committee examined the Ross rifle, subjected it to various tests and reported favourably upon it. After the reception of this report the minister had no hesitation about entering into a contract for the purchase of sufficient Ross rifles to re-arm the militia, the company agreeing to make the rifles at a factory to be erected in Canada.

And so the Ross rifle factory came to be established at Quebec with a normal capacity of 1,000 a month, or 2,000 upon emergency.

About the same time, the capacity of the Dominion arsenal at Quebec, the output of which was under a million rounds of cartridges a year, was increased, so that it has an output of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 and its capacity is very considerably above that quantity.

The year 1903 was a particularly important one in the development of the headquarters staff.

In February, Major and Lieutenant-Colonel E. Fiset, A.M.S., was appointed staff adjutant of medical services.

By general order 61 of April, 1903, the formation of the Corps of Guides, a unit to be specially trained in the duties of reconnaissance, scouting, military sketching, map reading, guiding and intelligence, with a director of intelligence at headquarters and a district intelligence officer for each district, was provided for. April 22, Major W. A. C. Denny of the Army Service Corps (British) was appointed director of intelligence at headquarters.

October 15, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Smith was appointed military secretary at headquarters.

October 23, the formation of the Ordnance Stores Corps was provided for in orders, and the following staff appointments gazetted:—

To be director-general of ordnance: Colonel Donald A. Macdonald, I.S.O., from the reserve of officers. 1st July, 1903.

To be assistant director-general of ordnance: Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Donaldson, from the unattached list. 1st July, 1903.

To be director-general of engineer services: Lieutenant-colonel P. Weatherbe, Canadian Engineer Corps. 1st July, 1903.

To be assistant director-general of engineer services: Major G. S. Maunsell, Canadian Engineer Corps. 1st July, 1903.

Orders of October 24, provided for the organization of the Signalling Corps.

With a view to placing the administration of the Department of Militia and Defence upon a more satisfactory and systematic basis, it was decided to transfer the custody, care and issue of arms, clothing, equipment and military stores of all descriptions, from the civil to the military branch thereof, hence the organization of the "Ordnance Stores Corps," which was formed from the officers and men previously employed in the Military Stores Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence. Commissions in the Ordnance Stores Corps were granted to officers serving in the Military Stores Branch of the Department of Militia and Defence, and the authorized establishment of warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men was recruited from the former employees of that branch, under the same conditions as to qualifications and length of service as applied to the other units of the permanent force.

The organization of the military staff at headquarters up to that date was outlined in a minute of Council dated October 29, 1903, which was promulgated as General Order 159. Of this order the following is an abstract:—

"1. The general officer commanding shall be charged with the military command and discipline of the militia, shall issue general orders, and hold periodical inspections of the militia. He shall be the principal adviser of the Minister of Militia and Defence on all military questions, and shall be charged with the control of the branches of the adjutant-general, the director-general of military intelligence and military secretary, and the general supervision of the other military branches. He shall be charged with the

(1) Now President of the Council of the Dominion Rifle Association.

1. Colonel Patrick Leonard McDougall (later, General Sir P. L. McDougall, in command of the Imperial Forces in North America) Adjutant-General of Canadian Militia, October 1st, 1868 to May 4th. 1869. 2. Colonel Walker Powell, Adjutant-General, April 21st, 1875 to January 1st, 1896. 3. Major-General Rt. Hon. Lord Aylmer, Adjutant-General, January 1st, 1896 to Nov. 1st, 1904 ; Inspector General, Nov. 1st, 1904 to April 1st. 1907. 4. Colonel B. H. Vidal, Adjutant-General, Nov. 1st, 1904 to April 1st, 1907, when he was appointed Inspector-General. 5. Colonel Charles Eugene Panet, Deputy Minister of Militia, Feb. 4th, 1875 to Nov. 22nd, 1898. 6. Colonel Louis Felix Pinault, C.M.G., Deputy Minister of Militia, Dec. 7th, 1898 to December, 1906.

Note.—Colonel Patrick Robertson Ross was Adjutant-General of Militia, May 5th, 1869 to Aug. 16th, 1873, and Charles Selby-Smyth from Oct. 1st, 1874 to April 19th, 1875, when he was appointed to the command. Colonel George Futvoyne was Deputy Minister, May 29th, 1868 to Jan. 1st, 1875.

general distribution and localization of the militia, and with the selection and proposal to the Minister of Militia and Defence of fit and proper persons to be recommended for commissions in the militia, of fit and proper officers for promotions for staff and other military appointments, and for military honours and rewards. He shall be charged with the preparation and maintenance of plans for defence and for the organization and mobilization of the militia. In the absence of the general officer commanding, the adjutant-general shall act for him.

"(a) The adjutant-general shall be charged, under the control of the general officer commanding, with interior economy, military education and training of officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and men of the militia, etc., etc.

"(b) There shall be a director-general of military intelligence who shall, under the control of the general officer commanding, be charged with the collection of information on the military resources of Canada, the British Empire, and foreign countries, etc., etc.

"(c) There shall be a military secretary who shall, under the control of the general officer commanding, besides other duties, be charged more particularly to deal with appointments, promotions and retirements of officers of the militia, and with military honours and rewards, etc., etc.

"2. The quartermaster-general shall, under the supervision of the general officer commanding, be charged with supplying the militia with food, forage, fuel, etc.

"3. There shall be a director-general of engineer services who shall, under the supervision of the general officer commanding, be charged with the selection of sites for barracks, etc.

"4. There shall be a director-general of ordnance, who shall, under the supervision of the general officer commanding, be charged with supplying the militia with warlike stores, etc.

"5. The director-general of medical services shall, under the supervision of the general officer commanding, be charged with the administration of the medical establishments."

The principle of having the quartermaster-general and other heads of what are called departments in the imperial service, under the supervision of the general officer commanding and advising the head of the department direct, was borrowed from the War Office, and the organization of the militia department in October, 1903, was similar to that of the War Office at that date.

After the South African war, which had revealed certain weaknesses in the organization, and more particularly the administration, of the defensive forces of the mother country, and of the empire at large, the question of effecting an improvement in those respects had been a very live one in Great Britain. The subject was referred to the Defence Committee, and, in view of contemplated changes in the Dominion Militia Act, the British government invited the Minister of Militia to proceed to England to discuss the question of defence with the Defence Committee, and endeavour to bring the Dominion and British systems into uniformity. Sir Frederick Borden consequently left for England in November, 1903, met the Defence Committee and made a number of arrangements mutually advantageous to the mother country and to Canada.

One immediate result was that arrangements were made with the imperial authorities to admit a certain number of Canadian officers, yearly, to the Staff College. On the invitation of the imperial government, Colonel Otter, Colonel Evans and Colonel Drury had already attended the manœuvres held in the south of England in September this year.

On account of the numerous changes already made or deemed to be necessary in the militia system, and to bring the law more in accordance with modern requirements in Canada and in touch with the system either prevailing or to be introduced in England, Sir Frederick Borden submitted, March 17, 1904, a new Militia Bill to parliament. In introducing it, he stated, in part:—

"Let me say, in the first place, that the existing militia law is practically the same law which has been on the statute-book since Confederation, and indeed it was on the statute-book of old Canada long before that date. Times have changed since the existing law was enacted; Canada has grown and the militia force has grown, and it has been found impossible to carry on our militia system advantageously under the existing law. Instead of amending the present Act, I thought it better to bring in an entirely new Bill, which provides for the repeal of the existing law, but which, of course, includes and retains many of its provisions. . . . . I may say that we have examined, not only the imperial laws and the laws of other colonies of the empire, but the laws of other countries as well, and we have endeavoured to incorporate in this Bill the best there is in them all.

"It will be found that in the Bill which I now introduce there have been changes made in certain of the provisions of the existing law; there have been important additions to it, and there have been important omissions from it. Among the more important omissions from the present law is, in the first place, the disappearance of any reference to the naval militia. This is due to the fact that a Bill will be introduced by

the Minister of Marine (Hon. Mr. Préfontaine) which will meet all the requirements in this regard. I may say that this is done at the suggestion and under the advice of the Colonial Defence Committee and of the Admiralty. (1).

"The next important omission from the present law is that restriction which prevents the appointment of a Canadian officer as commanding officer of our militia. The existing Militia Act provides that no one but an imperial officer, and no one below the rank of colonel in the British army shall be appointed general officer commanding the militia of Canada. The new Bill omits this restriction and leaves it open to a Canadian or to any qualified person within the British empire to be appointed by the government as commanding officer of the Canadian militia. The next important omission —military men will consider it important, although in a sense it is perhaps a matter of minor importance— the next omission from the Bill is the provision in the present law by which an officer of the British army of the same rank as a Canadian officer, but of junior date of appointment, takes precedence of the Canadian officer in the militia of Canada. This provision is not included in the present Bill, so that in future imperial officers who come here to serve in Canada will rank with officers of the Canadian militia according to the date of their appointment.

"The next important provision which is not included in the present Bill, but which exists in the law as it now stands, is with reference to the powers of the imperial officer commanding the imperial troops at Halifax. Under the law as it now stands, in case of war, the imperial officer commanding the imperial troops at Halifax, no matter how junior he might be, would immediately take command of the whole militia of Canada over the head of the general officer commanding the militia of this country. That provision has been eliminated from the present Bill, and no allusion whatever is made to the general officer commanding at Halifax. If he is a man of senior rank, he would in time of war, by virtue of his seniority, take his position as head of the forces in this country.

"One other omission is made. There is no reference in the Bill I am now proposing to the King's Regulations— Under the law as it now exists the King's Regulations are made a part of the law of Canada. This has been found to be troublesome and cumbrous, and to add to the difficulties of the administration of the militia. Therefore, we shall rely in future upon the regulations made in Canada for the administration of the militia of Canada, except that the Army Act will apply. It was at first thought that we might re-enact the Army Act in this country; but it is a very long document and is being changed from time to time; and, after taking the best advice I could get in this country, it was thought wiser to adopt the British Army Act rather than to attempt to re-enact a similar Act here at present. . . . .

"Now, I will mention some alterations which have been made in different provisions of the law. First, it is proposed to increase the permanent force of the militia to 2,000. The present law provides for 1,000. In the near future the population of this country will be double the population of the country at the time the present provision was made. The Northwest and British Columbia have since that time become parts of the Dominion. Important settlements are taking place in the Northwest, and gradually as the country becomes settled the Northwest Mounted Police will proceed to other spheres of usefulness, and the militia of the country will have to take the responsibility of maintaining order there, and depots will be required. In fact, at the last session of parliament, I explained that we were taking a sum of money to pay for an addition of 500 men to the permanent force. So that I think this increase of 1,000 will be considered to be entirely within the present demands of the country.

"Another change which I propose refers to the pay of the permanent force. At present it stands at forty cents a day, with certain good-conduct pay. It is proposed to adopt the rate of pay of the Northwest Mounted Police as that of the permanent force of this country. I need not stop here to argue the point, because this can be better done on the second reading; but I may say that the permanent force is the teaching force of this country, the one upon which we must largely depend for the training of the active militia, and therefore it is exceedingly desirable that it should be composed of first-class men. The pay is to begin at fifty cents a day, and increase at the rate of five cents each year until it reaches seventy-five cents as the maximum.

"The next change is in the rate of pay of the active militia. That matter has been discussed here on many occasions. I am happy to be able to say that this Bill provides that while the pay shall begin as it does now at fifty cents a day, there shall be a provision by regulation, which shall be laid on the table of the House, allowing for an increase year by year until at the end of three years $1 a day may be paid to men who have shown by their good conduct and their

( ) The question of the organization of a Canadian Naval Militia was taken up energetically by the Hon. Mr. Préfontaine, who prepared an elaborate naval militia bill, and gave notice of its introduction during the session of 1905. Owing to the lateness of the session it was left over until the following one. Already the active Minister of Marine had had the crews of the fisheries protective cruisers organized and drilled on a naval system, and as he contemplated making the crews of the departmental fleet the regularly enrolled nucleus of the new naval militia, he, during the winter of 1904, despatched officers and men on an instructional cruise on the D.G. cruiser "Canada" to the West Indies. Unfortunately, while on a trip to Europe on business connected with his department, Mr. Préfontaine died suddenly at Paris, December 25, 1905. Since then the organization of the naval militia has remained in abeyance.

proficiency in rifle shooting that they have earned it.

"Another change which has been made is in the provision for giving aid to the civil power in time of riot. It is proposed to amend the law as it now stands by providing that the active militia shall only be used in the suppression of riots or in aid of the civil power when the permanent force is not available, or not in sufficient number to be utilized.

"One other alteration proposes to extend the period for annual drill from sixteen days to thirty days. It is not compulsory, but it will be possible, if occasion requires, to make that extension of time. The present law provides for sixteen days, but it has been the custom to make the period twelve days. It is not probable that that will be exceeded, but it was thought desirable that power should be given to the government, if at any time it might be necessary, for the drill to be extended in certain cases to thirty days.

"I now come to the additions to the law proposed in this Bill. I shall at first call attention to the provisions in reference to cadets. We have had many discussions in this House on this matter, and it was promised that when the new Bill was proposed, provision would be made for the enrolment of cadets. I cannot do better than read the clauses:—

"'73. The minister may (a) authorize boys over 12 years of age who are attending school to be formed into school cadet corps; (b) authorize boys over 14 years of age and under 18 years of age to be formed into senior cadet corps; (c) authorize senior cadet corps or any portion thereof to be attached to any portion of the active militia for the purpose of drill and training.

"'74. All cadet corps shall be subject to the authority and under the orders of the district officer commanding.

"'75. Cadet corps shall be drilled and trained as prescribed, and may be furnished with arms, ammunition and equipment under the conditions prescribed. . . . . .'

"There is a provision in the Bill for the appointment of officers to rank as brigadier-generals temporarily. This will be found necessary under the proposed increase of the militia at times of camp. There is a further provision that the rank of major-general may be conferred upon colonels on retirement, who have held the highest executive appointments on the headquarters staff, for distinguished service in the country."

A protracted debate took place on this bill, indicating the greatly increased interest taken by the country's public men and their constituents in the once-neglected question of national defence. While the bill was before parliament, a lengthy, able, but somewhat acrimonious discussion was precipitated by what is known as the "Dundonald Incident."

The Earl of Dundonald, commanding the militia, at a dinner tendered to him by the officers of the Montreal division, June 4, used language reflecting upon the conduct of a member of the government in connection with the filling of military appointments, charging that political intrigue rather than military efficiency had determined the selection of some of the officers of a newly organized cavalry regiment.

The government's attention was drawn to the matter in parliament on June 9, and after investigation, taking the ground that not only was there no justification for the specific reflections made, but that the conduct of Lord Dundonald was in direct violation of the principles of military discipline and the rules of the service, and subversive of the principles of constitutional government, an order in council was passed dispensing with Lord Dundonald's services as general officer commanding the militia.

This regrettable incident resulted in the discussion on the Militia Bill being prolonged, and for some time speeches assumed a rather bitter tone.

While the bill was still under discussion, an entirely new system was adopted at the War Office in London as a result of the adoption by the government of the report of the committee known as the Esher Committee, which was appointed by the Balfour government for the purpose of investigating and reporting on all matters connected with the organization of the War Office, and making a report. This report provided for a practical reconstruction of the War Office. The results seemed to be so far satisfactory by July, 1904, that the Hon. Sir Frederick Borden, minister of militia, in view of the course which had been pursued by the War Office, a course which had resulted from difficulties which were found to exist in working out the complicated system which had obtained in England, and which, to some extent, had been in existence in Canada, thought it advisable to provide, in the new Militia Bill then before parliament, the machinery by which the government of Canada might follow the example of the imperial government.

July 11, Sir Frederick outlined in parliament the principal changes he proposed to make in the bill. He explained that the system in force since Confederation had not operated satisfactory, and continued, in part:—"There are many difficulties which I think act against the public interest in the endeavour to work out this system, difficulties which will be overcome entirely or very largely by the new system. One of these difficulties is that there has been absolute want of continuity under the existing system. Each new general officer commanding who comes to this country

seems to be possessed with the idea that it is his duty to overturn and change everything done by his predecessor. There are no records to show in detail the reasons for the conclusions which the different general officers commanding have reached. Under the new system there will be a militia council corresponding to what is in England called the army council. That council will be composed of the minister of militia, as chairman of the council, with four military men and two additional civilians. Everything that is done at that council will be made a matter of record, or at any rate every conclusion of importance which is reached by that council will be made a matter of record, so that if there be a change of ministers or a change of officers, the record will remain there for the guidance of those who may come afterwards, and when changes are suggested, means will be found to compare new proposals with old proposals.

"The minister for the time being will be the chairman of the militia council; the principal military officer will be known as the chief of the general staff. Then there will be the adjutant-general, the quartermaster-general and the master-general of ordnance. The two additional civilians would be the deputy minister and, probably, the chief accountant of the department.

"I think that so far as the reconstitution of the headquarters is concerned the conditions are similar to those of the war office in England, and I cannot see any difficulty at all on that score. All my hon. friends who have written me on the subject and some of the most eminent military authorities agree that there will be no difficulty whatever in applying the system so far as the war office is concerned. When it comes to the question of decentralization it may be that we will not be able to go as far in this country as they have gone in England. I do not think that policy can be carried out in connection with the militia force as easily as in connection with the regular army.

"Under the system there will be no general officer commanding. There is no commander in chief in England to-day, and there will be no general officer commanding here. There would be a first military officer known as the chief of the general staff, the most important military officer in the country, as he is to-day the most important military officer in England, except some of the generals commanding in chief in some of the large districts. Under the new system we would have more important commands than we have to-day. The centralization would be carried out to some extent, perhaps not to the same extent as in England, so that officers commanding districts would have much greater powers than they have at the present moment, and properly so, because these men, if they are ever to be fit to command, must have experience in times of peace which will enable them to perform the duties which may be required of them in times of war."—See H. of C. Hansard, July 11 and (3rd Reading of Bill) Aug. 2, 1904.

The bill as thus amended by the Minister of Militia finally passed, and was assented to as Act 4, Edward VII, Chapter 23, August 10th.

Among its most important new provisions were the following:—

"Section 7. The Governor in Council may appoint a militia council to advise the minister on all matters relating to the militia, which are referred to the council by the minister. The composition, procedure and powers of the council shall be as prescribed."

"Section 30. There may be (1) appointed an officer who shall hold rank not below that of the colonel in the militia or in His Majesty's regular army, who may be, subject to the regulations and under the direction of the minister, charged with the military command of the militia, and such officer shall have the rank of major-general in the militia, and shall be paid at such rate, not exceeding $6,000 per annum, as is prescribed.

"31. There may be appointed an officer who shall hold rank not below that of colonel in the militia or in His Majesty's regular army, who may be, subject to the regulations and under the direction of the minister, charged with the military inspection of the militia, and such officer shall be paid at such rate, not exceeding $6,000 per annum, as is prescribed.

"32. The duties and authority of each of the officers respectively referred to in the two next preceding sections shall be defined by the Governor in Council."

"36. The Governor in Council may establish a general staff, headquarters staff, and district staff, and may appoint a chief of the general staff and such officers to the respective staffs as are deemed necessary, and shall define their duties and authority."

General Orders of June 15, 1904, provided that Colonel the Right Honourable Matthew, Lord Aylmer, adjutant-general, would act as officer commanding the Canadian militia in succession to the Earl of Dundonald, retired. By G.O. 166, November 1, 1904, Lord Aylmer was appointed "Inspector-General of the Canadian Forces," with the rank of brigadier-general.

The same order contained the following:—Brigadier-General P. H. N. Lake, C.B., Chief Staff officer, Southern Command, Great Britain, is appointed (temporarily) chief of the general staff, with rank of brigadier-general in the Canadian forces while so employed, such rank to date from 2nd March, 1904, under

(1) Appeared as "There shall be, etc." in the bill as originally presented to the House.

THE MILITIA COUNCIL (1)

1. Colonel E. Fiset, D.S.O., G.G.H.S., P.A.M.C., Deputy Minister of Militia, Vice-President. 2. Major-General P. H. N. Lake, C.B., C.M.G., p.s.c., Eng., Chief of the General Staff, (First Military Member). 3. Colonel F. L. Lessard, C.B., A.D.C., Adjutant-General (Second Military Member). 4. Colonel D. A. Macdonald, I.S.O., O.S.C Quarter master-General (Third Military Member). 5. Colonel W. H. Cotton, Master-General of the Ordnance (Fourth Military Member). 6. J. W. Borden, Esq., Accountant and Paymaster-General (Finance Member).

(1) The Hon. Sir F. W. Borden, K.C.M.G., etc., Minister of Militia, is President of the Militia Council. See Frontispiece.

provisions of section 47, Militia Act. 1st November, 1904.

Brigadier-General Lake had already served a term in Canada as quartermaster-general of militia with universal acceptance, and had temporarily acted as general officer commanding after the departure of Major-General Gascoigne.

In the same order Lieut.-Colonel and Brevet Colonel B. H. Vidal was appointed adjutant-general to the Canadian forces with the substantive rank of colonel.

General Order 167, November 15, p ovided for the following changes in the headquarters staff:—

Colonel D. A. Macdonald, I.S.O., D.G. of O., to be quartermaster-general. 15th November, 1904.

Colonel W. H. Cotton, Q.M.G., to be master general of the ordnance, under the provisions of section 35 of The Militia Act, 1904. 15th November, 1904.

G.O. 17., dated December 28, 1904, provided for the following appointments to the headquarters staff:—

To be director-general of medical services: Colonel E. Fiset, D.S.O. 1st December, 1904.

To be director of clothing and equipment: Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Donaldson, from assistant director-general of ordnance, 1st December, 1904.

To be director of transport and supplies: Lieutenant-Colonel J. L. Biggar, from assistant quartermaster general. 1st December, 1904.

To be director of artillery: Lieutenant-Colonel R. W. Rutherford, from assistant adjutant-general of artillery. 1st December, 1904.

To be director of engineer services: Lieutenant-Colonel P. Weatherbe, from director-general of engineer services. 1st December, 1904.

During the year 1904, the whole of the regimental establishments of active militia were revised, and new lists providing establishments on a peace and war footing were issued. A number of sub-target guns were procured for the use of the militia in connection with musketry instruction.

In accordance with the new Militia Act an increased scale of pay for all ranks was authorized, and efficiency pay for warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the active militia, the permanent force excepted, provided for, with a view to increasing the efficiency of the several units of the militia by inducing men to continue to serve therein.

During the year 1,770 officers, 19,108 non-commissioned officers and men, and 4,400 horses received 12 days training in district camps; and 979 officers, 12,997 non-commissioned officers and men, and 1,032 horses (city corps) at local headquarters.

The present order of things as regards the administration of the force was inaugurated at the beginning of 1905, the first general order of that year, dated January 3rd, reading as follows:—By an Order in Council, dated the 17th November, 1904, as amended by an Order in Council dated the 7th December, 1904, which read as follows, the organization of the Militia Council was authorized:—

"On a report dated 15th November, 1904, from the Minister of Militia and Defence, submitting that, by the Militia Act, 1904, sec. 7, it is enacted as follows:—'The Governor in Council may appoint a Militia Council to advise the minister on all matters relating to the militia which are referred to the Council by the minister. The composition, procedure and powers of the council shall be as prescribed.'

"The minister submits that it is expedient that a Militia Council be appointed accordingly, and recommends that it be constituted under the title of 'The Militia Council,' and that it be composed of the following members:—

"President—The Minister of Militia and Defence.

"1st Military Member—The Chief of the General Staff.

"2nd Military Member—The Adjutant-General.

"3rd Military Member—The Quartermaster-General.

"4th Military Member—The Master-General of Ordnance.

"Civil Member—The Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

"Finance Member—The Accountant of the Department of Militia and Defence.

"With a secretary to be nominated by the Minister of Militia and Defence from among the clerical staff of the Department of Militia and Defence."

G.O. 65, dated Headquarters, Ottawa, April 4, 1905, provided for the creation of the higher commands, with the following officers commanding:—

Western Ontario Command—To command, (with temporary rank of brigadier-general), in addition to the command of No. 2 military district: Colonel W. D. Otter, C.B., A.D.C.. 1st May, 1905.

Eastern Ontario Command.—To command, (with substantive rank of colonel), in addition to the command of No. 3 military district: Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel W. D. Gordon. 1st May, 1905.

Quebec Command—To command, (with substantive rank of colonel), in addition to the command of No. 5 military district: Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel L. Buchan, C.M.G. 1st May, 1905.

Maritime Provinces Command—To command, (with substantive rank of colonel) in addition to the command of No. 9 military district: Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Colonel C. W. Drury, C.B., R.C.A. 1st May, 1905.

The grouping of the military districts of eastern Canada into higher units had been advocated by

successive G. O. C. for years previously. Nos. 1 and 2 military districts became the Western Ontario Command; Nos. 3 and 4, the Eastern Ontario Command; Nos. 5, 6 and 7, the Quebec Command, and Nos. 8, 9 and 12, the Maritime Provinces Command.

The objects of this organization were, first, to afford selected officers of the militia practice in the higher duties of command and administration, by placing them in charge of large bodies of troops approximating to the commands which they would exercise in the event of war; secondly, decentralization, with the object of relieving militia headquarters of a great mass of detail questions which could be far better dealt with locally, and, thirdly, the introduction of a system of administration which would be the same both for peace and war. Incidentally the creation of these commands opened up a far more attractive professional career for officers of ability than it had hitherto been possible to offer them.

The following staff officers and heads of departments were allotted for each of these commands:—Staff officers:—Chief staff officer, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general.

Heads of departments:—District engineer, senior Army Service Corps officer, principal medical officer, senior Ordnance Stores Corps officer, senior paymaster, principal veterinary officer.

During 1905, the cavalry and infantry were organized into brigades, and the Royal Canadian Field Artillery was reorganized as Horse Artillery.

The attendance at annual drill during 1905, and especially at the camps of instruction, was highly satisfactory. Indeed, the total number of men trained reached a higher figure by 4,900 than that of any previous year. This was no doubt largely attributable to the efficiency pay introduced in 1904.

During the year, the department carried out the project for acquiring a suitable territory for a central training camp, land at Petawawa, Ont., being secured. The new camp ground is situated in the county of Renfrew, near Pembroke, on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and is, roughly speaking, about eight miles by ten. It lies upon the Ottawa river, and affords excellent ranges for both artillery and infantry. Steps have since been taken to prepare it for regular occupation, and suitable buildings, ranges, etc., erected.

In June, 1905, the military members of the Militia Council submitted to the minister a memorandum on general militia policy, which was approved by him and laid before parliament. To the carrying out of that policy the efforts of the department have been steadily directed with satisfactory results.

But by far the most important event in 1905, from a military point of view, was the fact that the Dominion took over from His Majesty's regular troops the responsibility for the maintenance of the Imperial fortress of Halifax, N.S., the control of which is now entirely in the hands of Canada. The Dominion government also arranged similarly to assume control of Esquimault. Canada thus relieved the British taxpayer of the burden of any military expenditure whatever for military purposes within her borders. On her part, the mother country treated Canada with liberality, in handing over the fortresses free of charge, complete, up to date, and fully equipped in every respect.

In consequence of the decision of the Dominion government to assume the entire defence of the Dominion, an increase of the permanent force was authorized from 2,000 to (if necessary) 5,000 of all ranks, and recruiting was actively commenced in the month of April, 1905, for the additional force required in connection with the gar ison at Halifax. The recruiting was satisfactory in point of numbers, and the class of recruits obtained was good, their physique being much above the average for infantry of the line.

Owing to this large augmentation, it was necessary to obtain, for service in the permanent force, a few officers, non-commissioned officers and men from the Imperial army. The Imperial government granted the non-commissioned officers and men free discharges, with permission to enlist in the permanent force, the Dominion government undertaking to give them in the permanent force the rank they held in the army, and to count their army service towards pay, promotion and pension, the portion of the pension earned in the army to be borne by the Imperial government.

Two additional companies were formed to replace the two companies of the Royal Canadian Garrison Artillery sent to Halifax from Quebec.

An increase in the strength of the Royal Canadian Engineers was authorized.

Five additional companies were added to the Royal Canadian Regiment, and were organized to reinforce the five old companies, which were recruited as nearly as possible to their full strength.

It was also found necessary to organize a corps of military staff clerks as a separate unit of the permanent force, with a strength of one warrant officer and thirty staff-sergeants and sergeants.

May 16, the following appeared in orders:—"Brigadie -General (temporary) P. H. N. Lake, C.B., having been appointed a major-general in His Majesty's regular army from the 23rd March, 1905, is, under the provisions of paragraph 47 of the Militia Act, granted the rank of major-general (temporary) in the militia from the above date, and is confirmed in his appointment of chief of the general staff."

October 23, 1905, Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Gwatkin, Manchester regiment, appeared in orders as being appointed "Director of Operations and Staff Duties on the General Staff," with the temporary rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the militia, taking rank and precedence in the militia from Jan. 6, 1904, that being the date of his army rank as lieutenant-colonel.

In connection with the transfer of the fortress of Halifax to the Dominion government, it was found necessary to temporarily retain the services of Major-General Sir Charles S. B. Parsons, K.C.M.G., commanding, and a number of his subordinate officers after the date fixed for the withdrawal of the British troops, and arrangements having been made with the Imperial government, they were temporarily taken on the strength of the Canadian militia. (See G.O. 296, Dec. 9, 1905).

This transfer of a number of senior Imperial officers, in their army ranks, to the Canadian militia emphasizes the great change in the status of the national force from the days when the militia was a mere auxiliary of the regular army, whose chief usefulness in war time was the raising of recruits to form provisional battalions.

The transfer, to the Dominion of Canada, of the garrison, fortifications and military buildings of the Imperial fortress at Halifax, N.S., which was nearing completion at the end of 1905, was practically completed during 1906.

Similarly the coaling station at Esquimault, B.C., was entirely taken over from the Imperial troops during the year.

The formal transfer of the two fortresses took place on January 18, 1906. The command of Halifax being assumed by Col. C. W. Drury, C.B., commanding Maritime Provinces; that of Esquimault by Col. J. G. Holmes, commanding M.D. No. 11.

The increase to the permanent force, required in order to enable the infantry, artillery and engineers to provide efficiently for the necessary garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt, proved difficult. Recruiting suffered seriously from the state of the labour market and the universal demand for labour at high wages. To meet the resulting shortage of men, until such time as the classes from which recruits are drawn in this country become better aware of the advantages offered by military service, the experiment was tried of enlisting volunteers from certain British regular regiments, which, during the year, were in process of disbandment, direct into the permanent force. The Army Council was good enough to give its consent.

A new departure was made during the year by the completion of arrangements for the temporary interchange of selected officers with the governments of India and Australia.

Captain J. H. Elmsley, Royal Canadian Dragoons, was attached to the Indian army for a year, while Lieut.-Col. O. B. S. F. Shore, D.S.O., 18th 'Tiwana' Lancers, was sent to the Canadian militia to fill his place.

Similarly Lieutenant E. Clairmonte, Royal Canadian Artillery, was attached to the Australian Permanent Forces and Lieutenant P. S. Long-Innes, Royal Australian Artillery, took his place.

It was hoped that the new scheme would afford officers of the Dominion an opportunity of studying the military systems of other portions of the empire and of widening their military knowledge and experience thereby.

During this year a considerable improvement was effected in the training system of the active militia. Steps were taken at the camps to eliminate as far as possible all movements not of general utility, with a view to giving more attention to essentials, and with good results. As city corps generally suffer from too constant drill in drill-halls and too little work in the field, an opportunity to remedy this defect was offered by giving permission to city corps to form provisional battalions for four days attendance at the district camps.

During the year 1906, 1,950 officers, 24,112 non-commissioned officers and men, and 6,567 horses received 12 days training in district camps; and 912 officers, 12,330 non-commissioned officers and men, and 284 horses similar training at local headquarters. 162 officers, 1,334 non-commissioned officers and men, and 64 horses received less than 12 days training.

Although authority was obtained from parliament in 1905 to raise the establishment of the permanent force to a maximum not exceeding 5,000 men, in order to provide for the garrisons of Halifax and Esquimalt and other requirements, it was decided that the increase should only proceed gradually, and as funds were available. For the year 1906 it was determined that the numbers should not, for financial reasons, exceed the following:—Royal Canadian Dragoons, 200 all ranks; Royal Canadian Mounted Rifles, 120; Royal Canadian Horse Artillery, 258; Royal Canadian Garrison Artillery, 790; Royal Canadian Engineers, 300; Royal Canadian Regiment, 1,067; Army Service Corps, 100; Army Medical Corps, 100; Ordnance Stores Corps, 120; total, 3,055.

The permanent force was served during the year with the Ross rifle, Mark II, and many rifle associations with the same rifle, Mark I.

Complaints, as to these rifles (the first of Canadian make issued to the militia), according to the annual

report of the Militia Council, did not appear to be more frequent than those made about other service rifles, at their first introduction. Defects observed were being rapidly remedied.

As this rifle aims at being a modification of all modern patterns of small-arms, its introduction revealed the weak points inherent in new models. They are now well known, and good progress has been made towards remedying them. A very careful and thorough inspection is made, during manufacture, of components, and of the finished rifle. The materials entering into the composition of the rifle are carefully tested, and defects, as far as possible, obviated. In addition to the above, investigations have been made at the factory by the inspector of small-arms on the following main points, in the matter of which some defects have shown themselves:—Sights, bands, butt plates, magazine feed and extractor.

The remainder of the field batteries were completely re-armed with 12-pr. B.L. guns during the year, and the full complement of ammunition completed. This distribution released from the field forces the 9-pr. R.M.L. This gun being obsolete, it is not proposed to re-issue it as a service weapon. As, however, the 12-pr. gun is being replaced in other armies by a more modern quick-firing weapon, a supply of the new 18-pr. q.f. gun adopted for the British service has been ordered from England, the delivery of which is shortly expected.

The expenditure on account of the militia for 1905-6 amounted to $5,594,009 or $1,644,167 in excess of the amount expended during 1904-5, the increase being distributed as follows:—Permanent force, $1,014,166; annual drill, $110,000; military stores, $100,000; military properties, $48,600; Dominion arsenal, $64,-500; defence, Esquimalt, $69,263; clothing, active militia, $80,000; allowances,$76,000; sundry, $81,638.

The increase in expenditure on the permanent force, $1,014,166, which amount did not include contingent expenses, such as transport, &c., was due to the Canadian government taking over the fortresses at at Halifax and Esquimalt, the two garrisons requiring between them about 1,500 men and entailing the following extra expenditure:—

(*a*) Additional pay funds for the permanent force consequent upon the increase in the establishment. In 1904-5, the average strength was about 1,200 all, ranks. In 1905-6 the average was about 1,000 greater, the total strength June 30, 1906, including about 70 semi-military employees at Halifax, standing at 2,448.

(*b*) Larger expenditure for clothing consequent upon the augmentation of the force.

(*c*) $220,000 paid to re-imburse the Imperial government for garrisoning Halifax some six months after July 1, 1905, the date from which Canada agreed to assume the cost; $200,000 being taken from the vote for "pay," and $20,000 from the vote for "supplies" for the permanent force. This was due to the fact that it was not possible to replace all at once the Imperial troops by Canadian ones; the exchange had to be carried out gradually.

A statement given in the annual report of the Militia Council for the year ending December 31, 1906, shows, in detail, the expenditures on account of the militia during the fiscal years 1896-97 to 1905-06 inclusive. For the first, fifth and last years of this period the expenditures were as follows:—

	1896–97.	1900–01.	1905–06.
	$	$	$
Pay of headquarters and district staffs	41,353	41,093	143,880
Pay of Permanent Force, including officers, n.c.o.'s and men attached, guards of honour and military survey	265,476	248,639	1,118,836
Allowances for care of arms, drill instruction and postage to Active Militia	63,280	70,882	122,897
Annual drill, including supplies and transport	430,168	454,357	809,924
Salaries and wages of civil employees	67,868	86,495	72,603
Military properties—maintenance	39,101	39,203	50,523
" —construction	73,491	191,858	254,427
" —rifle ranges and lands	.....	76,104	132,747
Warlike and other stores	50,427	85,171	174,980
Clothing and necessaries for Permanent Force and Active Militia	232,167	209,657	429,727
Provisions and supplies for Permanent Force	115,899	121,790	463,668
Transport and freight, other than annual drill	43,998	39,824	84,856
Grants to rifle associations and bands	39,950	36,035	45,825
Royal Military College	59,616	72,520	86,243
Dominion Arsenal	58,492	110,783	290,037
Arms and ammunition	745,965	131,551	1,092,128
Gratuities and compensation	5,158	5,411	582
Miscellaneous votes	45,123	48,046	41,470
Defences of Esquimalt	45,119	128,140	179,256
Special services, South Africa	.....	.....	.....
Halifax, provisional garrison	.....	.....	.....
Totals	$2,413,651	$2,197,559 (1)	$5,594,009

(1) $908,682 expenses in connection with special service in South Africa and Halifax provisional garrison not included.

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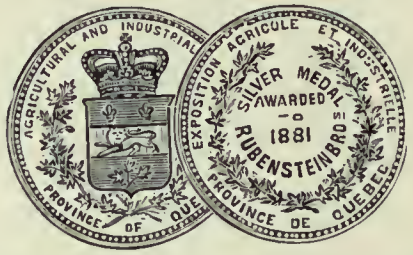

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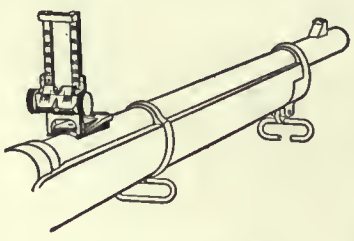

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THE ROSS RIFLE

¶The history of the adoption of the Ross Rifle as the arm of the Canadian Militia reflects great credit on Sir Frederick Borden and his advisers.

¶Why it was adopted has been told by Sir Frederick in the House of Commons and again at the recent Colonial Conference in London, when the subject of Imperial defence came up for discussion. Briefly, Sir Frederick had on occasion found it impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of Lee-Enfields from England. He did his best to induce one of the English factories to establish a branch in Canada for the manufacture of the Lee-Enfields, but failed. He then resolved to use a rifle of Canadian make. This resolution led to the adoption of the Ross Rifle, and to the erection of the extensive plant at Quebec for its manufacture.

¶The fact that the Ross Rifle fires the same .303 ammunition as the Lee-Enfield was no doubt an important consideration with Sir Frederick and his advisers. Another consideration of probably greater importance was stated by him at the conference in these words: "The maintenance of the Empire rests primarily on supremacy at sea," and in that connection I would like to submit the advisability—

THE ROSS RIFLE

the necessity perhaps—for the establishment in the different dominions of factories, which shall be able to manufacture arms, etc., and which will thus render those communities safer in the event of the sea control being temporarily lost by England.

¶This weighty view was approved by Mr. Deaken, of Australia. Moreover, it was in accordance with the opinion of the Imperial authorities who stated in a paper on the Equipment of Colonial Forces, that it is most desirable that the area of supply of warlike appliances should be as wide as possible, and therefore Colonial Governments should be urged to arrange for local manufacture and provision rather than rely on the resources of the United Kingdom.

¶The arm adopted was no untried experiment. In 1895, Sir Charles Ross commenced to take out a series of patents throughout the world on a straight pull breech mechanism. Later this system was adopted by the Austrian Government under the name of the "System Maunlicher," and all the military forces of the Austrian Empire armed with this weapon.

THE ROSS RIFLE

¶A most exhaustive series of tests of the rifle was made by a Board convened for that purpose by the Minister of Militia, consisting of Colonel W. D. Otter, President; Members, Colonel J. M. Gibson; Lieutenant-Colonel W. P. Anderson; Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Hughes, M.P., and Major F. M. Gaudet, who reported in favour of the Ross Rifle and suggested certain modifications which, in their opinion, were desirable in an arm to meet the special requirements of the Canadian service.

¶The results of this far sighted policy are just beginning to be seen and appreciated by the country at large who have seen the clamor of adverse criticism, always accompanying the introduction of a new arm, subside and give way before the growing popularity of the rifle with the militia.

¶Instructions in musketry practice are reporting increased rate of progress towards efficiency by their classes resulting from the use of the new rifles. It is established that twice as many shots may be put on a target with the straight pull Ross Rifle as can be delivered from the rifle that preceded it, as a result of the rapidity with which the magazine can be filled and the breech mechanism operated by the soldier while in the firing position.

THE ROSS RIFLE

¶But the great increase in military strength gained by Canada by the adoption of this formidable weapon is of only secondary importance to the advantage obtained by establishing within her borders a most complete and modern plant for the production of this most important of warlike material. Situated in Quebec, on the historic Plains of Abraham, and defended by the guns of that most impregnable fortress in America a large plant has been established for the manufacture of small arms. This establishment is complete in every respect, performing every one of the thousand and one operations required to convert raw steel and wood into the highest type of magazine rifle. A large factory filled with marvellous automatic machinery and precision tools operated by a force of skilled Canadian artizans who have been specially trained to carry on this work.

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